



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

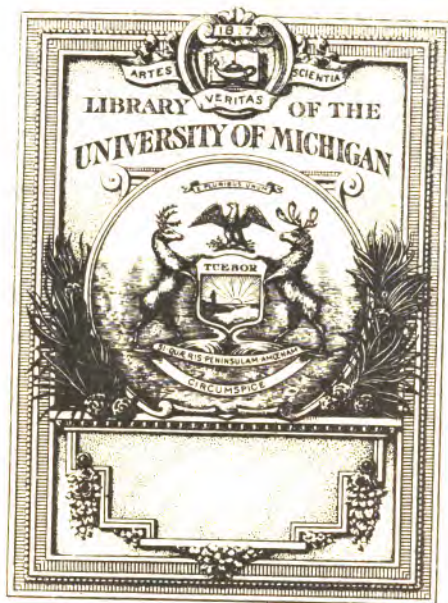
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



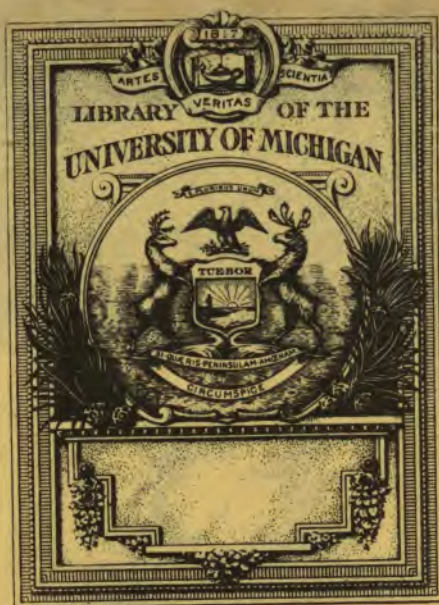


*Sir Robert Johnson Eden Bart*









*Sir Robert Johnson Eden Bart*

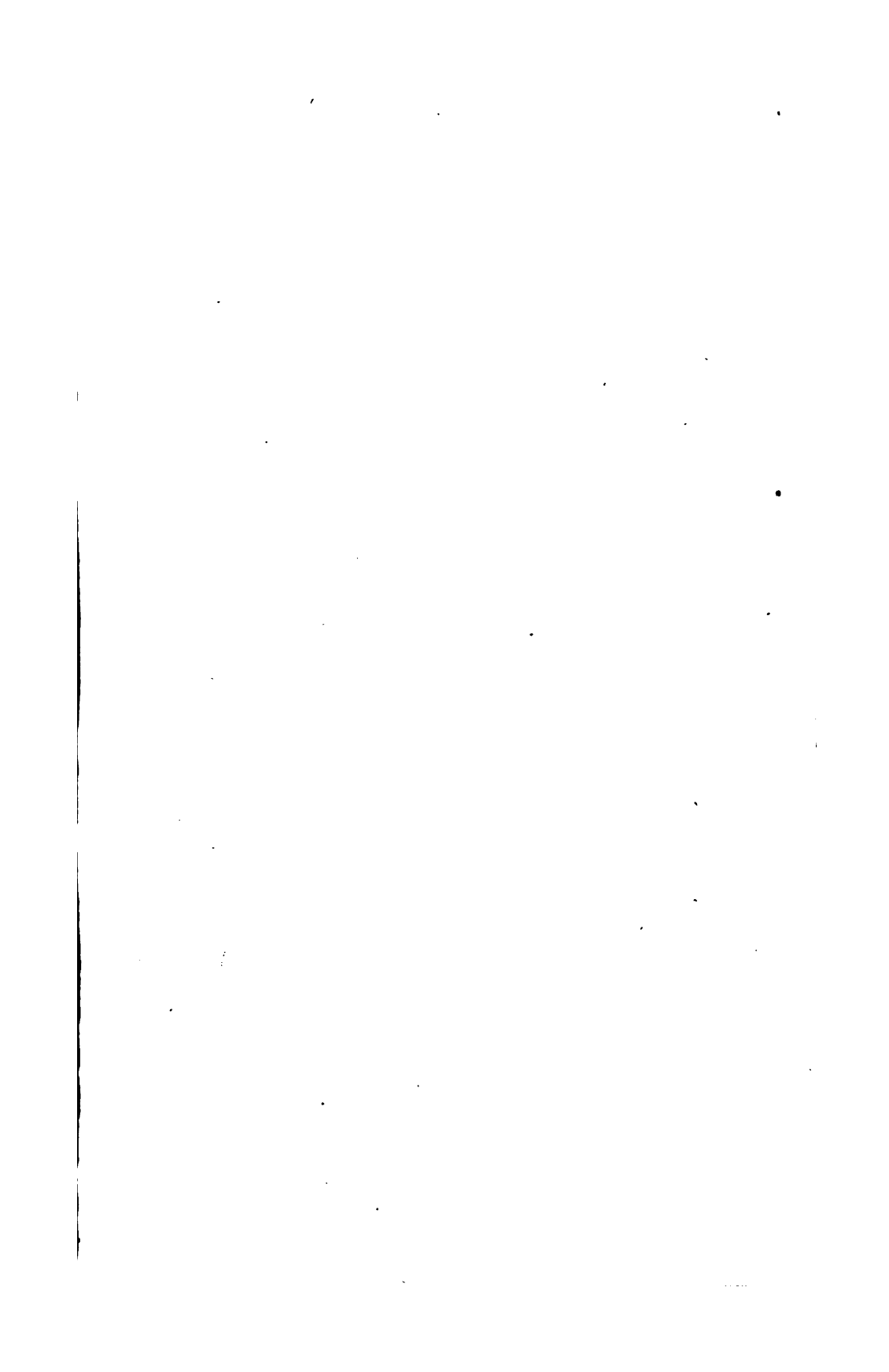




mm,  
67

CUS

[6/67  
-







A  
TOUR  
ROUND THE BALTIC,  
THRO' THE  
NORTHERN COUNTRIES  
OF  
EUROPE,

PARTICULARLY  
*Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia,  
& Prussia;*

IN A  
SERIES OF LETTERS.  

---

By N. W. WRAXALL, Esq.  

---

THE FOURTH EDITION,  
*Corrected and Augmented.*

LONDON:

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,  
FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND.

1807.



D

965

.W95

1807

---

A  
T O U R  
THRO' THE  
NORTHERN COUNTRIES  
OF  
EUROPE.

---

LETTER I.

On board "The Friendship,"  
in the German Ocean,  
Thursday, 14th April, 1774.

I CONSIDER the injunction which you laid on me at parting, to inform you constantly of all those events which elucidate the characters or manners of the countries through which I propose travelling, as not only doing me honor, but as opening to me a source of the most elevated and rational pleasure. There is a flattering and virtuous pride  
B which



## 2 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

which we cannot avoid feeling, from the consciousness, or at least the hope, that we are opening scenes of liberal knowledge, and elegant curiosity, to our friends: and in a mind where gratitude prevails, this is one of the most animating considerations in nature. It must likewise be confessed, that the survey of foreign nations, and the comparison of dissimilar modes of acting and thinking to our own, is not only formed to enlarge the human mind, and to correct its early prejudices; but, is calculated to delight in a supreme degree, as it has for its basis two passions most powerfully conducing to pleasure; novelty and admiration. So much, indeed, have travellers in all ages been conscious of this bias in nature, and so ready to take advantage of it, that the most improbable and ridiculous fictions have been invented and imposed upon the credulity of mankind. Recourse has been had to the marvellous, and the imagination has been entertained by amusing recitals of manners and actions which never existed.

But, the age of imposition on one side, and of credulity on the other, seems now to be past: truth and sound knowledge are introduced into subjects, where formerly they scarce ever intruded. Mankind are become more sceptical; and refuse to be amused with superstitious legends, or the wanton sallies of a luxuriant imagination. The refinement and civilization of modern manners, has rendered it no difficult matter to inspect kingdoms and provinces, to which access was formerly barred by bigotry, barbarism, and want of all police. Even Spain is not now impervious to curiosity, and superstition is declining in these her favorite dominions. But notwithstanding this diminution of the traveller's powers of entertainment, by excluding any address to the imagination, there are still objects sufficient left to interest the attentive and curious mind.

Certain parts of the globe are, however, infinitely more exuberant in the materials for producing elegant delight, than others.

#### 4      NORTHERN COUNTRIES

In some they are so plenteously scattered, that stupidity or insensibility itself must catch a portion of their power of pleasing. In others, they lie deeper beneath the surface, and like unpolished gems, only glitter in the eye of clear and perspicuous observation.—Of this last description are the kingdoms which I am about to visit; covered during many months with snow, and wrapt in all the horrors of a polar winter: unpolished in their manners, and still retaining the vestiges of Gothic ignorance or barbarism, they present not many charms to tempt the traveller. The Roman arms never penetrated into these inhospitable climes, nor is the Antiquarian allured to pass their snows, by the venerable remains of amphitheatres, temples, and Naumachiæ. Yet even in these remote and inclement countries, are the seeds of knowledge scattered; and if the mind receives no pleasure from the reflection of their past greatness or refinement, yet may it be enlarged and improved, from the consideration of their present

sent comparative power and importance in the scale of Europe. I purpose to visit the three northern capitals, and to pass a short time in each; though probably more in Petersburg, than either in Copenhagen, or in Stockholm, as I regard it by far the greatest object of curiosity. We are now beating against a contrary wind, and heaven only knows when a more favourable gale may spring up. I shall continue this sheet on my landing in Denmark.

## 6      NORTHERN COUNTRIES

Copenhagen,

Tuesday night, 19th April, 1774.

THIS morning I rose with the sun, to land on the island of Zealand, at Elsinore: it was a pleasant day, though cold. I presented my letters of introduction to the English consul, Mr. Fenwick, who received me very politely; and as he was much engaged with a multitude of ships which came in at the same time with us, he sent a servant to attend me over the Castle of Cronsberg. This fortress stands at the narrowest part of that celebrated channel, which is called The Sound, and was doubtless intended to command the entrance of it: whether it would be able now to prevent a fleet of men of war from passing it, I however much question. It is a fine Gothic Chateau or palace, built early in the last century by Christian the fourth, King of Denmark, and was then often honored with the royal residence.



residence. The form is square, and within is a fine quadrangle. The turrets at the corners are very superb, finished in the most improved style of Gothic architecture. They shewed me several large apartments, which are still denominated the king's: there is nothing, however, in them, except some gilt leather chairs of equal antiquity with the castle; and several daubings of the Danish Sovereigns, prancing about on white steeds. I desired to see the chambers which were occupied by her present majesty, during her confinement here; I mean the queen Matilda, so lately dethroned: but they are, I find, those in which the Colonel Commandant resides; who it seems had humanity and politeness enough to resign his. during her stay; as the royal apartments were not fit, at that inclement season of the year when she was brought down here, it being the 17th day of January, 1772, to receive any person. They are in fact vast, unfurnished, hideous, bare walls; hardly warm in July, I should suppose.

## 8      NORTHERN COUNTRIES

While I was looking about in the court below, a poor slave, fettered, whose crime most probably was theft, advanced, and taking off his cap, addressed me in French: I was glad to meet any person with whom I could converse; for the Danish sentinel who accompanied me, could only transmit his ideas in his own language, which I understood no more than the Chinese. I therefore began a conversation with the French captive, and asked him, if he was here when the queen Matilda was confined? Ah! Monsieur! said he, I saw her every day; I had the honor *de tourner la broche* for her majesty's dinner; she even promised to endeavor to procure me my liberty. I assure you, added he warmly, she was *la princesse du monde la plus aimable!* Whether the fellow said this, because he apprehended it would please an Englishman, or whether it was the genuine effusion of respectful gratitude, I cannot tell; but certainly it produced the effect on me that he wished, I could not resist the force of his compliment

compliment to an English, and an injured, queen. I put my hand in my pocket, and gave him some half dozen stivers; nor was it, I must own, either general philanthropy, or private commiseration, which drew most of them out—It was Caroline Matilda gave them; and I bid him thank her, not me.

There is a little hunting seat or palace, about a quarter of a mile from Elsinore, where the king drives down frequently for a few hours in the summer. There is nothing worth seeing in or about the building; but the prospect from the roof is beautiful beyond expression: it looks down on the town of Elsinore and Castle of Cronsberg; commanding beyond these, the Sound, and the coast of Sweden, to a vast distance. The town of Helsingborg in Sweden, which is exactly opposite, forms a fine object. I think it one of the most varied and picturesque landscapes that I ever beheld. Curiosity led me into the Danish church; the woman carried me up to the high altar, which was entirely covered with  
a curtain;

a curtain ; and the boy who accompanied me, assured me that it was very fine. I expected a Corregio, or a Raphael, and began to wonder how they had got any such piece of painting. However, on drawing aside the veil, I found it was only a collection of saints, martyrs, and apostles, in wooden alto relievo, all dressed out in gold leaf, with king Christian the fifth I believe it was, in the middle of them, who seemed to stare like a man in amazement ; probably, at finding himself in such company. I was disappointed, and yet could not help smiling at my mistake. In this situation I continued looking at the gaudy figures, while the woman read me a long Danish dissertation ; I suppose, on the history of the altar. On turning round, I found myself surrounded by a number of yellow-haired boys and girls, who had formed themselves into a semi-circle to gaze at the stranger. I was as much pleased to look at them, as they could be at me ; and selecting one of the girls, whose *cheveux blondins*  
hung

hung down on her neck in loose disorder, and whose whole figure was a beauty in miniature; for I suppose she could not count above eleven years—I went up to her, and presented her a stiver, in a manner, ‘which said, as well as silence could express it, ‘’tis your pretty form, sweet maid, which draws this present.’—The “*detur pulchriori*” was not more legibly written by the hand of nature on Paris’s apple, than it was on my bit of silver; but my goddess was too young, and too innocent, to read it.

Mr. Fenwick’s hock, and what was ten times more powerful, his lady’s company and conversation, detained me at Elsinore till four o’clock, or later; and I had then twenty-two miles to go in a chaise to Copenhagen. This vehicle, which was an indefinable somewhat, between a coach and a cart, partaking very much of both descriptions, was drawn by four little Danish horses; and notwithstanding that it appeared to me when I got into it, surmounted

as



as it was with trunks and with hay for the horses, very ill calculated for speed; yet the fellow, who was a laughing, merry, talkative Dane, whipped his cattle so frequently and so well, that I got to the capital about nine o'clock, which in this country is driving at a great rate.

I did not admire the appearance of objects between Elsinore and this place; but, indeed, I must confess, I saw them through a very bad medium, as I could not keep myself warm the whole way, though I wrapt myself in my great coat. The day closed in, a good league before I reached the metropolis, and I was indebted to the moon for her light during the rest of the road. After they had stopped me at the gates of Copenhagen, inquired my name, and searched my trunks, I was set down at the inn, where I now am, opposite the royal palace. 'Tis midnight, and you may imagine, after the adventures of the day, I shall not quarrel with my pillow.

## LETTER II.

Copenhagen,  
25th April, 1774.

I HAVE now been here near a week, and begin to find that a stranger may pass his time not unpleasantly in Copenhagen. But before I proceed to foreign affairs, let me give you some account of domestic ones. I am lodged, as I think I mentioned in my last letter, at an excellent inn, or rather Hotel, immediately opposite the palace; my chamber commanding a very complete prospect of it, and of the haven which separates us. It is not, however, the situation of this Hotel, or the entertaining landscape which it commands, that form, in my estimate of objects, its greatest charm. It possesses another attraction. When I am not particularly engaged in company, I always dine at the landlord's table, which  
is

#### 14      NORTHERN COUNTRIES

is very well served, and where I have been happy enough to make several agreeable acquaintances. He has three daughters, who dress their heads to advantage, curtsey most civilly in return to my bows, and are well disposed to oblige ; but all these attentions will only excite complacency, and do not affect the heart. There is a fourth female, who, in my eye, unites in her person a thousand times the attractions of the other three. She is by birth a Norwegian, and lives near Christiania in Norway, but is now here on a visit: her complexion is too ruddy, and her person has too much *embonpoint*, to be deemed handsome in England ; yet even among us she would be admired. I have silently paid homage to her from the first moment that I saw her ; nay, I have even said every thing that the sight of beauty can be supposed to dictate to a heart, sensible to its impressions.—How I said them, I must leave you to judge from your own feelings, since conversation constitutes scarcely any part of our interchange of ideas, as I am unhappy

happy enough not to speak Danish, and she can converse in no other language. But, the most animated expression of admiration may be conveyed, without the aid of words or sounds ; and there is a language, and that an eloquent one too, which is given by nature in common to the inhabitants of England, and of Norway.

She sometimes plays to me on an instrument which resembles our spinnet, and which they here call a Pantaloon.—She accompanies the music with her voice, and sings me twenty Danish songs, taken from a book which usually lies on the table. I do not apprehend that the language is much better calculated in itself for harmony, than the Dutch or Flemish ; and yet, by what fascination I know not, I am more delighted than ever I was at hearing the finest of Metastasio's Arias from Cæcilia Davies's mouth. There is one air in particular, which has something in it peculiarly touching ; and as she turns over the leaves, I stop at that, lay my finger on it, and  
humbly



humbly request, in that language to which I alluded before, that she will oblige me with it. When she has done, I take her hand, and while I press it to my lips, they inform her that she has not played to a person incapable of tasting the delights, which beauty and harmony united must ever produce. You may laugh at this dumb tête-à-tête if you please ; and, perhaps, if I was inclined to burlesque, instead of admiring it, I could suppose it sometimes ridiculous enough.—Let that be as it may, I can only say the time slips unperceived away in this occupation ; and it is at least an agreeable relaxation from the more noisy amusements, or from the closer applications of the mind : but you must not therefore imagine, that she engrosses my whole time or attention ; I have been employed in viewing several objects of curiosity in this capital.

I was accompanied this morning, by two gentlemen, to Count Moltcke's palace. It is very splendid, and a fine taste is shewn in the collection of paintings which cover the

the grand drawing-room. They are as much superior in excellence, as they are inferior in number, to those that I have seen in the king's cabinet of curiosities; or, as it is called here, the Musæum. This last Repository I have likewise visited; but as I intend returning to it, and as it contains a number of curious and extraordinary productions peculiar to the Danish dominions, I shall mention it in a future letter.—Count Moltcke himself, whom you may probably recollect in England, when he accompanied his present Danish Majesty on his travels; lives now in a state of retirement, suited to his advanced age, and diminished influence over public affairs. He was the favorite, as well as the minister, of Frederic the fifth; and so despotic was his sway during the concluding period of the late reign, when the king, from personal and mental incapacities, scarcely held the sceptre in his hand, that he was commonly called “King Moltcke.”

The round tower here is very singular,

C

and,

and, I believe, has only one parallel in Europe; that of Amboise in Touraine. The tower of which I speak, was built by Christian the fourth, under whom the celebrated astronomer Tycho Brahé flourished, and was designed for an observatory. There is not a single step in it, though the Tower is very lofty; the ascent being performed by a spiral road, of near fourteen feet broad, from the base to it's summit. A professor, who shewed me over it, assured me, that one of their kings; Christian the fifth, as I recollect, drove in his carriage up and down it; and he even produced a book, as I doubted the fact, to prove the veracity of his assertion. I must own that it may be [easily] done, though probably at some risk of the driver's neck.

If it were not on account of the fair Norwegian, with whom, after all, it must be owned that I could wish to converse with the tongue, as well as with the eye, or the hand; I find scarcely any inconvenience resulting from my ignorance of the Danish language:

Every

Every person of condition here speaks French, and many of them, English. The gentlemen of the army and navy in particular, are almost universally used to these languages. They are, at least several of them, with whom I have fallen into company, extremely disposed to treat a stranger with every mark of urbanity and politeness. One of them has already promised to accompany me over the island of Zealand, and to be my conductor on a tour that I propose making, to see the royal palaces: and I am engaged to-morrow morning with two others, to view a private collection of natural curiosities, which I am told is formed with great taste and judgment.

The weather is still very cold: we have had hail almost every day since my arrival; nor are there as yet any marks of that sweet season, which the Italians so justly denominate the *gioventù del anno*, but which is pretty much unknown to Danish poets. Indeed, I apprehend the year is



more properly divided here into the summer and winter, than as with us, into four seasons. A short summer succeeds to the long series of cold and darkness, which environs them from October till April; and during this period, they often experience very great heat for a few days, or sometimes, weeks. Certainly man is much affected by physical causes; nor can we be surprised to find the elegant arts chiefly confined to luxurious, southern climates, and faintly raising their heads amid these snowy and inhospitable regions, where the inhabitants seem in some degree to partake of the asperities of their soil; and where royal munificence, however unbounded, can only raise a few sickly and straggling plants.

They seem to have a great turn for politics here; and as it may not be quite so safe to inspect too deeply into the conduct of their own sovereign and statesmen, they make themselves some amends, by interesting themselves in those of the English nation

tion

tion. I am asked a thousand questions in every company, respecting the inhabitants of Boston, and relative to our East India affairs. They are unanimous in opinion, that the American colonies will be soon absolutely emancipated; and they give me a look of incredulity, accompanied with a significant shake of the head, when I assure them that all will terminate quietly, that Boston must submit, and that our government has uniformly embraced the most gentle, mild, and parental measures. I see they do not believe me, and I am obliged to refer them to futurity for the test of my assertions. !!

So few persons visit this metropolis or kingdom, solely from motives of curiosity, that they are quite surprised when I assure them I have no sort of business to transact here, and am only employed in the search of knowledge. Indeed, I apprehend, a month or five weeks may be in some measure adequate to the completion of my

objects, and I shall not delay my departure after that time.

There does not seem to me to be any appearance of industry or business here; and Copenhagen, though one of the finest ports in the world, can boast of little commerce, when the facilities which its position offers, are considered. The public places are filled with officers, either in the land or sea service, and they appear to constitute three-fourths of the audience at the comedy and the opera. The number of forces kept up, is indeed, much too considerable for the revenues of this kingdom, which has not been engaged in war these fifty years. They can boast, it is true, a vast extent of territorial dominion; but, of what importance are the barren, and almost uninhabited mountains of Norway and Lapland, stretching to the pole; or the plains of Iceland, where the inhabitants are yet, and will probably ever remain, in a degree of barbarism? Their German provinces in  
Holstein,

Holstein or Sleswick, are by far the most fertile, and furnish a large part of the royal revenue. There needs, indeed, no stronger proof of the general poverty of the kingdom, than the scarcity of specie. I have seen no gold coin, and hardly any silver money. They pay every thing in paper; and if you lose a single dollar at the card-table, or the billiard-table, it is given in a bill, or note. I received two hundred rix-dollars yesterday morning, and not a single one in money.

## LETTER III.

Copenhagen,  
Friday, 29th of April, 1774.

I SHALL continue my remarks on the chief objects of curiosity here. Last Wednesday morning, I accompanied a party of ladies, to see the palace of Rosenbourg; which was constructed, as I am assured, by our celebrated Inigo Jones, and stands in the middle of a large garden, in the center of Copenhagen. It is small, and at present very little frequented or used by the king, or royal family. There is an air of antiquity in all the apartments, tapestry, and furniture, which is not displeasing, and impresses with respect. The grand sala or dining-room, in particular, is in this style. The hangings, which are not ill executed, represent the various actions by sea and land, which diversified the antient wars between the Swedes and Danes; who seem always to have had the same national rivalry  
ship

ship and animosity, for which the French and English are distinguished in Europe; and which, it is probable, they will ever in some degree retain. At one end of this grand apartment, are placed three silver lions, as large as the life; who seem, by the ferocity of their appearance, designed to characterize the age and nation in which they were sculptured. It is a sort of savage magnificence, which strikes more refined and luxurious times with wonder, to introduce such forms into a banqueting room of state.

In the Rosenbourg palace are several small cabinets full of curious rarities, which the various sovereigns of Denmark have successively collected, and left to their posterity. Many of them are intrinsically valuable; others are only preserved, from some event or accident connected with them. Among those of the first description, is a saddle, on which Christian the fourth made a sort of triumphal entry into Copenhagen. It is covered with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; and the spurs are of gold, enriched with jewels.

The

The coat worn by the king, and a light helmet used on the same occasion, are likewise covered with pearls. I forget the sum at which it was then estimated ; but you may easily suppose it to be immense. They preserve likewise, with great care, a handkerchief of this prince dyed with his blood, from a wound that he received by a ball which deprived him of an eye.

Christian the fourth made, indeed, no inconsiderable figure among the Princes of Europe, during a great portion of the seventeenth century. His reign is scarcely exceeded in duration by that of any sovereign antient, or modern, except Louis the fourteenth; Christian having occupied the Danish throne for sixty years, from 1588, to 1648. Nearly allied by blood to the royal family of England, he made repeated visits to London, during the life of his brother-in-law, James the first. Animated by his attachment to the Stuart line, and indignant at the tyranny of the emperor Ferdinand the second ; he endeavoured to extend assistance to his niece, Elizabeth, the unfortunate queen

queen of Bohemia, married to the elector Palatine; and to liberate Germany from the yoke of the house of Austria. In 1623, he was placed at the head of the protestant league: but his genius, or his fortune, sunk under that of Tilly, the Imperial general. It was reserved for Gustavus Adolphus to check the progress of Ferdinand, and to rescue from oppression the Germanic Empire. Yet, Christian must be considered as an able, martial, and accomplished sovereign. There is scarcely one of the royal palaces here, in which I have not found portraits of him; and he may justly be regarded as among the greatest princes who have reigned in Denmark. The man who accompanied us over the Rosenbourg palace, shewed me, with exultation in his countenance, a sword which had belonged to Charles the twelfth of Sweden: it is the kind of weapon that such a monarch may be supposed to have worn, and from its simplicity would well become the meanest soldier: it, indeed, evinces his  
strength



strength and vigorous frame of body, by it's size and weight. I question whether his present majesty of Denmark could heave it, and I think I may be sure that he could not draw it. The blade is at least four feet long, and both the hilt and gripe are entirely composed of brass. By what accident the sword of Charles fell into the hands of the Danes, I could not learn. Certainly he never surrendered it to them.

I could not help smiling when I entered the chamber, in which we were informed that Christian the fourth expired. There are, indeed, some figures in it, that may not improperly be termed celestial and angelic ; but they are rather ill calculated for the regards of a dying man, and would better become the cabinet of a young and elegant voluptuary. I remarked this circumstance to our conductor, who only shook his head, and shrugged his shoulders, but said nothing. If his Danish majesty had been a Mussulman, I should have supposed that he designed them as representative of the Hou-

ris, in whose arms he was so soon to repose his wearied virtue, and forget the toils annexed to royalty : but it seems he died a Lutheran.

The gardens of this palace constitute one of the chief recreations of the city, as they are always open, and on festivals or Sundays are crowded with company. They are spacious, but not laid out with taste, or adorned with any productions of art ; one statue only excepted, of Hercules vanquishing the Næmean lion, which stands under a portico, raised to defend it from the inclemencies of the weather. This piece is of Italian workmanship, and the artist has found means to display great anatomical skill and beauty in the attitude and muscles of the hero, who by an extraordinary exertion of strength, forces open and breaks the jaw of his adversary.

I went yesterday to see the private collection of natural curiosities, and paintings, which I have already mentioned to you. It is made by a Monsieur Spengler, who, I apprehend

apprehend, is well known in the literary world. He is by birth a Swiss, but his urbanity and learning have made him a citizen of the world. I have always found the really great and good, to be of no country. His pieces of painting are, for a private individual, numerous, and yet very select. Many of them have been presented to him by the masters themselves, as tributes of friendship or admiration, made to his genius or his heart. They are, indeed, mostly the production of German, Dutch, and Flemish artists. He is a fine mechanist, as well as anatomist, and possesses some pieces of workmanship in both those branches of science, executed by himself in ivory, which are chefs-d'œuvres. I was not surprised to hear him call Dr. Fothergill his intimate friend, or to find that he kept up the closest correspondence with the celebrated Linnæus in Sweden. I assured him of my intention to visit that great man in his retreat at Upsal, and that I had already procured letters of introduction to him. In justice

to

to the crown of Denmark, I ought to add, that his late majesty Frederic the fifth, appointed this gentleman keeper of the royal Musæum, and that he enjoys a very easy competence. I was charmed to find that his elevated understanding, and uncommon talents, had not, as is too frequent, allied him to poverty.

I have been into all the churches here, whether German, French, or Danish; but it is not in Lutheran places of devotion, that we must search for the productions of art and elegance. Madonnas and Magdalens are confined to Catholic walls, and form one of the most enviable parts of the Romish form of worship and decoration. There is one church here, indeed, where they have placed six statues of plaister before the high altar. As they have armed two of these figures with monstrous gilt swords, as big as that of Charles the twelfth; and as a third is employed in blowing a trumpet; I must own I took them, at first sight, for a kind of guard drawn up to defend the holy place :  
but

but, on a nearer approach, I found, probably for fear of such a mistake, that they had christened them all, and placed their names, severally and respectively, at their feet. To four of them have been applied the Jewish appellations of the angels, which occur in scripture ; Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, and Michael. Unfortunately, when they had advanced so far, having yet two nameless figures, and no more angelic titles at command, they seem to have been at a loss : under one of them they have inscribed the generic epithet, Cherub, leaving it undetermined what particular angel he might be ; and to the other, is affixed the word Jeremiell. Who Jeremiell is, I don't pretend to know. I should have thought it to be the prophet Jeremiah, only a little altered in one syllable of his name ; and to confirm this suspicion, he holds a book in his hand ; but then he has a pair of wings on his shoulders, [which puzzle one confoundedly. I could not satisfy myself quite about this personage ; and must leave it to King Christian

tian the fifth, who built the church, and placed the statues, to answer for his own works, and unfold the enigma.

The police of Copenhagen is exceedingly good, and persons may walk through every part of the city at all hours of the night, with the most perfect safety. No robberies, nor assassinations are heard of here. They wear no cloaks, nor conceal any Stilettoes under their habits, as in the southern kingdoms of Europe. Indeed, it appears to me to be almost as quiet here by eleven o'clock at night as in a country village; and scarce a coach is heard in the streets, except on particular occasions, after midnight.

I don't apprehend this capital can be above the fourth part of the size of London; possibly not so much. It is fortified towards the land by a ditch, always full of water. The streets are commonly of a good breadth, and the houses very neat and handsome. There is one very beautiful open place here, which in figure approaches

D

nearer

### 34 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

nearer to a Circus, than a square : each side or division forms only one palace, and in the centre is elevated an equestrian statue in bronze, of the late King, Frederic the fifth. The "Place de Victoires" at Paris, so highly extolled in the beginning of the present century, is very inferior in effect, or in architectural elegance, to this of Copenhagen.

I shall stay here a fortnight longer, and in my next letter you may expect some account of the Danish court. His majesty and the royal family are all in town at present, and do not remove into the country for these three weeks, as I am informed. Adieu !

## LETTER IV.

Copenhagen,  
Tuesday, 3d May, 1774.

IN the conclusion of my last letter, I promised you some account of the court of Denmark. It is requisite for me, however, to premise, that I have not had the honour of being presented to the sovereign, as is customary with strangers from the other kingdoms of Europe. It is sufficient to be an Englishman, to induce me not to wish it; and, indeed, with so much jealousy are we regarded at present, in this capital, that I can assure you; the information being derived from the most respectable and incontestible authority; so insignificant an individual as myself, is not only an object of public inquiry, but even suspected as a spy, because I come from England, and have no avowed motive for travelling, except amuse-



ment and the gratification of curiosity. I have never, therefore, been present at the king's levee, which is held every Friday; but I go to the drawing-room, and mingle unnoticed among the crowd. I was there last night, when his majesty, the queen dowager, and Prince Frederic the king's brother, were present.

In order to convey to you a picture of the court, as it now exists, I must carry you back to the time of the late celebrated, and unhappy favorite, Count Struensee. I have made it my endeavor, since my arrival here, to gain the most authentic and unprejudiced intelligence respecting him; as well as relative to the late extraordinary revolution, which not only expelled a queen from her throne and kingdom, but brought the principal ministers to the scaffold. I shall at least inform you of some anecdotes, which elucidate Struensee's character, with which you may be unacquainted; though, as I never perused the printed account of his life and trial, which appeared in England, you  
must

must excuse me if I should repeat any circumstances that you have seen in that publication.

Struensee, as is well known, was not of a noble family; and consequently did not possess that hereditary title to conduct affairs of state, which is here considered as almost indispensable to such an elevation. Fortune, and a train of peculiar circumstances, coinciding with his own talents and address, seem to have drawn him from his native mediocrity of condition, and to have insensibly placed him in an elevated rank. He originally practised physic at the town of Altona on the Elbe, near Hamburgh; and afterwards attended the present king of Denmark on his travels into France and England, in quality of physician. On his return, he advanced by rapid gradations in the royal favour; and seems to have eminently possessed the powers of pleasing, since he became equally the favorite of both the king and queen. He was invested with the Ribband of St. Matilda, an Order instituted in honor of her majesty; was created a

Count, and possessed unlimited ministerial power.

It must be admitted that his conduct, in this sudden and uncommon eminence, marks a bold and ardent mind ; perhaps I might add, an expanded and patriotic heart. Unawed by the precarious tenure of greatness, and more peculiarly of his own, he undertook a general reform. The state felt his exertions through all its departments ; the finances, chancery, army, navy, nobles, peasants—all were affected by his influence. He not only dictated, but wrote in person his replies to every important question, or dispatch ; and a petition, or a scheme of public utility, rarely waited two hours for an answer. At present, I am told, that two months may elapse, without receiving any reply to an official application. The civil judicature of Copenhagen was at that time vested in thirty magistrates. Struensee sent a message to this tribunal, demanding to know the annual salary or stipend annexed to the office of each member : alarmed at the inquiry, they returned an answer, in  
which

which they diminished their emoluments by near two thirds, and estimated them at fifteen hundred, instead of four thousand, rix-dollars. The minister then informed the magistrates, that his majesty had no farther occasion for their services; but, in his royal munificence and liberality, was graciously pleased to continue to them the third part of their avowed incomes, as a proof of his satisfaction with their conduct. He at the same time constituted another court, composed only of six persons of approved integrity, to whom the same powers were delegated.

Struensee next proceeded to reform the chancery, and other bodies of the law, in a similar manner. Then entering on the military department, he, at one stroke, disbanded all the horse-guards; and afterwards reduced the regiment of Norwegian foot-guards, the finest corps in the service, who were not disbanded without a short, but very dangerous mutiny. Still proceeding in this salutary, but perilous undertaking, he ultimately began to attempt a diminution of the power of the nobles; and at the same time

to effect the emancipation of the class of peasants, from the fetters of feudal vassalage. You will not wonder that he fell a victim to such measures, nor can you be surprised to find that all parties joined in his destruction. These were his real crimes, and not that he was too acceptable to the queen ; which, however true, only formed a pretext. It was the *minister*, and not the *man*, who had become obnoxious. I do not pretend, in the latter capacity, either wholly to excuse, or to condemn him ; but as a statesman, he may rank with the Straffords, and the Clarendons, whom tyranny, or public violence have brought, in almost every age, to an untimely and ignominious exit : to whose memory nevertheless, impartial posterity have done ample justice.

It must, however, be admitted, that if Struensee did not make a bad, he certainly made a violent and imprudent use, of his extensive power. He seems, if one may judge from his actions, to have been in some measure intoxicated with royal favour, added to such accumulated honors ; and not to have

have adverted sufficiently to the examples which history furnishes, of Wolseys in former periods, and of Choiseuls in modern times, who most strikingly evince the slippery foundation of political grandeur. It is a fact, that when he was pressed, only a short time before his seizure, to withdraw from court, to quit Denmark, and to pass the Belts, into Germany; with ample security given him for the annual remittance of forty, fifty, or even a hundred thousand dollars, for his subsistence, beyond the Danish frontiers; an unhappy fascination, or an irresistible influence, detained him, in defiance of every warning, and reserved him for the prison and the block.

The queen dowager, and Prince Frederic, were only the feeble instruments to produce this catastrophe, as being by their rank immediately about the person of the sovereign; though common report has talked loudly of the queen Juliana Maria's talents, and has attributed it to her imaginary abilities, or to those of her son. The only mark of capacity or address which they exhibited,

was

was in preserving a secrecy, which deluded Struensee and the queen Matilda, till the time of their being arrested. I have been assured, that on the last levee day preceding this event, the Count was habited with uncommon magnificence, and never received greater homage, or proofs of servility from the crowd of courtiers, than when on the verge of ruin. On the night fixed for his seizure, there was a *bal paré* given in the palace ; at which entertainment, the queen, after dancing, as usual, one country-dance with the king, gave her hand to Struensee during the rest of the evening. She retired from the room about two in the morning, and was followed by him and Count Brandt.

The moment for action was now arrived. The queen dowager, and her son Prince Frederic, hastened to the king's chamber, where he was already in bed. Kneeling down beside it, they implored him with tears and expostulations, to save himself and Denmark from impending destruction, by arresting those whom they accused as the authors of the public misfortunes. It is  
said

said that the king, far from being easily induced to sign the order, expressed the utmost reluctance and hesitation on the subject. At length, however, their entreaties prevailing, he affixed his sign manual to the paper. Colonel Koller Banner instantly repaired to Struensee's apartment, which, as well as Brandt's, was situate in the palace: they were both seized nearly at the same instant; and, as all defence was vain, they were hurried away immediately to the citadel. When Count Struensee stepped out of the coach, he said with a smile to the commandant, who received him into custody, "I believe you are not a little surprised at seeing me brought here a prisoner." "No, and please your excellence," replied the old officer bluntly; "I am not at all surprised, but, on the contrary, have long expected you."—It was five o'clock in the morning, when the Count de Rantzau came to the door of her majesty the queen Matilda's anti-chamber, and knocked for admittance. One of the women  
about



about the queen's person, was ordered to awaken her, and to give her information that she was arrested. They then put her into one of the king's coaches, drove her down to Elsinore, and imprisoned her, as you know, in the Castle of Cronsberg.

Meanwhile, as they dreaded an insurrection in Copenhagen, every military precaution was taken to prevent it. The most infamous and absurd reports were circulated among the populace, in order to render the state-prisoners odious : that they had infused poison in the king's coffee, with an intent to destroy, or to debilitate his understanding ; that they intended to declare him incapable of governing ; to send the dowager queen Juliana Maria out of the kingdom, as well as her son Prince Frederic ; and to proclaim the queen Matilda regent. With a view to confirm these extraordinary and contradictory reports, the king himself, accompanied by his brother, appearing in a state-coach, paraded through the streets of the city, to shew himself unhurt, as if  
escaped

escaped from the most horrid conspiracy. During the above-mentioned transactions, Struensee and Brandt were detained in rigorous imprisonment. They loaded the former with very heavy chains about his arms and legs, and he was at the same time fixed to the wall by an iron bar. I have seen the room, and can assure you that it is not above ten or twelve feet square, with a little bed in it, and a miserable iron stove. Yet, here, in this cell, did he, though chained, complete with a pencil, an account of his life and conduct as a minister, which is composed, as I have been assured, with uncommon ability. A tribunal was appointed for the trial of the queen, and the two Counts; counsel being assigned for each, in order to preserve an ostensible appearance of justice and equity. You know the result, and the winding up of the whole tragedy, on the 28th of April, 1772. I must, however, mention to you some few particulars relative to Count Brandt, on the exactitude of which you may rely, as they are derived from the best authority.

This

## 46 N O R T H E R N C O U N T R I E S

This unfortunate nobleman rose chiefly under Struensee's auspices, though he was originally of an honorable descent. During a residence which the court made at one of the royal palaces on the isle of Zealand ; that of Hercsholm ; it happened that his majesty having quarrelled with Brandt, thought proper to challenge him. The count, as you may imagine, declined accepting a proposition, which seemed to imply a total alienation of mind in the prince who made it. When they met, however, soon after, in one of the apartments, the king repeated his defiance ; called him coward ; and Brandt still behaving with command of temper, as became a subject, his majesty thrust his hand into Brandt's mouth, seized his tongue, and had very nearly choked him. In this situation, can it be wondered at, that he should bite the king's finger, or strike him ? Self-preservation must necessarily supersede every other feeling, at such a moment, and plead his pardon. By Struensee's mediation, the quarrel was immediately

mediately made up, and the king promised never more to remember, or to resent the circumstance of Brandt's having struck him. Yet was this blow, given to preserve himself from imminent destruction, and from the fury of an enraged prince, made the pretence for his condemnation. They said, that he had lifted his hand against the king's sacred person, the penalty of which was death by the laws of Denmark. Brandt's lawyer, I am told, made an excellent defence for him, and very forcibly remarked the essential difference between assaulting the sovereign, and only defending himself from a private attack. 'One of our former monarchs,' said he, 'Christian the fifth, was used frequently to unbend himself among his nobles: on these occasions, it was his custom to say, "The king is not at home." All the courtiers then behaved with the utmost freedom and familiarity, unrestrained by the royal presence. When he chose to resume his kingly dignity, he said—"The king is again at home." But what,' added he, 'must  
' we

‘we do now, when the king is never at ‘home?’—This seems more like the speech of an Englishman, than that of a Dane, and breathes a manly, unfettered spirit.

The bones of these unhappy persons remain exposed on wheels, about a mile and a half out of Copenhagen. I have viewed them with mingled commiseration and horror. They hold up an awful and affecting lesson for future statesmen. Four English sailors, belonging to a Russian man of war, commanded by Admiral Greig, lying at Elsinore, carried off the head of Struensee, some time since. But, that of Brandt is still to be seen.

I have been assured that Struensee resigned himself to his own sentence without murmuring, or attempting to deprecate the blow; but, that he expressed the utmost concern and abhorrence, at the flagrant injustice committed in sentencing Count Brandt to the same death. They have portraits of Struensee here in all the shops, with this motto inscribed round them; “*Mala multa Struens-se ipsum perdidit.*” You observe that  
it

it is a miserable sort of pun upon his name. Yet, in defiance of all the calumnies of a triumphant party, the terrors of a despotic government, and the natural reserve among the people, there are, even here, persons who dare to speak, though ambiguously, their genuine sentiments. ‘Sir,’ said a man of sense and honour to me, a few days since, ‘between ourselves, all is not as it should be; we have at present neither king nor minister: an imbecility, mingled with disorder, characterizes our government: the effects are too visible: the blue and white ribbons are prostituted, and contemptible. The finances are in a worse state, than when Struensee found them: the army devour us. In Norway, affairs are yet worse: the king is unpopular there, and so little is his authority respected, that the Norwegians have refused, and still refuse, to pay the capitation tax, nor can it be believed among them.’ I have not amplified or exaggerated in this picture, which I really believe is too just in most of the particulars.

E

The

The king has certainly suffered much in his intellect, and the Danes make very little scruple in general, to own the fact. He can play, indeed, at a game of cards in the drawing-room; he can dance, or can go to an opera; but he is doubtless in a state of mental debility, which disqualifies him for conducting or superintending affairs of national import, and public consequence: these concerns are left to the ministers, who tread very cautiously, and will not speedily prosecute or resume Struensee's patriotic measures. His fall is too recent, nor have his bones yet returned to their parent earth. There is a vacuity in the king's aspect, which is strongly marked; and he is much paler and thinner than when you remember him on his tour in England. The queen dowager and Prince Frederic live constantly in the palace with him, and accompany him, like his shadow, wherever he moves. The prince has received no other mark of bounty from nature, or from fortune, than royal birth. He is very much

deformed;

deformed; and this personal imperfection has gained him the appellation of Richard the third, among those who do not love the court, though it may be supposed to have originated with the English settled at Copenhagen.

They have a Danish comedy here, twice a week; besides an Italian opera in the king's own opera-house in the palace, every Saturday; but I neither admire their singers, nor their dancers.

I have not said a word to you in this letter, of my fair Norwegian. She has lost her father since I wrote last, and I saw her not for a single instant, during two days, which she dedicated to his memory in retirement. She then burst upon me in all the melancholy splendour of mourning, her eyes red with weeping, and her beauty heightened by her dress. If I was to be much longer acquainted with her, I should make a very rapid progress, I believe, in Danish. Except this fair one, I have not seen above three or four very handsome, or very elegant women;



in Copenhagen. Perhaps I may be too premature in my determination, but I do not think them, in general, to be compared for personal loveliness with our own women. I have heard this court likewise decried as very profligate, and very licentious. It may have been so, for any thing I can say to the contrary; but upon my word, there are no symptoms of it now visible. The king, though in the bloom of youth, and without a wife, lives at present as continent as Joseph Andrews; and as to Prince Frederic, nature, it is said, has very completely disqualified him for affairs of gallantry. It must be confessed at the same time, that the king acted very differently only a few years ago, when his excesses were notorious, and are supposed to have produced the most deplorable consequences, personal and intellectual.

I shall go to-morrow morning, by water, in a large party, to the town of Malmoe, in Sweden: it is four leagues distant from Copenhagen, across the narrow arm, or entrance

entrance of the Baltic, which separates Zealand and Scania. The weather, which has been fine these three last days, rather resembling summer than spring, has put on a different aspect to-night, and threatens rain. If so, we shall delay our excursion till Friday; as there will be a *bal paré* at the royal palace on Thursday, where I purposed to be present. On Sunday next I shall set out on a tour to view the palaces, in the vicinity of the metropolis. Meanwhile I dispatch this letter by the post, which goes for England this evening.

## LETTER V.

Copenhagen,  
Saturday, 7th May, 1774.

I WENT through the royal cabinet or Museum, yesterday morning, accompanied by Monsieur Spengler. This collection is very large, extending through all the vegetable, mineral, and metallic worlds, as well as the finer arts. It is more indebted to Frederic the fourth, than to any other Danish sovereign. Every nation has produced her heroes and her patriots, on whom history delights to dwell. Some countries are, however, from whatever cause, more fruitful in great and sublime spirits, than others. In Denmark, they seem to have had comparatively few to adorn their annals. Sweden can boast of two Gustavus's; the first of whom liberated his country from foreign tyranny; and the second carried her victorious arms to the frontiers  
of

of Italy, and of France. Christina, notwithstanding her vices and her eccentricities, attained to great celebrity throughout all Europe; while Charles the twelfth has left behind him a name, become proverbial for military glory, and military reverses. Even Russia has been warmed and illuminated by the rays of genius. In what country, is not Peter celebrated, the greatest legislator that modern times have seen? But here, preeminent talents seem never to have occupied the throne, and diffused at least a temporary light.

There are, however, two favorite monarchs of Danish story, whose memories are still revered, and whose golden days are frequently recalled with a sigh. The first of these, Christian the fourth, brother to Anne of Denmark, queen of James the first; was the opponent and competitor of Gustavus Adolphus, in the last century, tho' with far inferior fame. The last was Frederic the fourth: great grandfather to the reigning king; a prince who loved the arts, and naturally attached from that predilec-

tion, to the country where they seemed to reside, he made two visits to Italy; one, previous to his ascending the throne; and one, subsequent to it. As Christian the fourth is usually depicted on canvas or tapestry, clad in armour, on horseback, and holding in his hand, a lance; so this latter sovereign always appears the patron of science, and the friend of the elegant and softer occupations. I cannot omit to mention one action of Frederic the fourth, as it displays a noble munificence of temper, and is well authenticated. During a Carnival at Venice, when he resided in that city, he is said in one evening to have won at the card-table, a faro bank worth two hundred thousand zechins, or nearly ninety thousand pounds sterling; which sum he immediately presented to the noble Venetian lady, in whose house the adventure happened, and who was reduced by it to the last stage of ruin, her whole fortune being swallowed up in this prodigious game of chance. They shewed me at the Rosenbourg palace, as a proof of the fact, the dress in which the king

king was habited, when he performed this action. It was that of a pilgrim, all the company being in masque.

They still preserve, among the greatest and most valuable curiosities in the Musæum, the chair in which Tycho Brahé was used to sit, when he made his astronomical observations at Uranibourg, in the little island of Veen, situated between the coasts of Zealand and Sweden. The wood which composes the chair, is held in reverence, and shewn to strangers as a relic, which once belonged to so illustrious a man. Thus it too commonly happens! I need not remind you, that the astronomer himself was driven from his native country by faction and malevolence ; or that he died at Prague, in the court, and under the protection, of the Emperor Rodolphus the second, who sheltered this celebrated fugitive, and afforded him an asylum. It reminds us of Dr. Johnson's lines, so often quoted on similar occasions.

" See nations slowly wise, and meanly just,  
To buried merit raise the tardy bust! "

The collection of paintings in the royal  
Musæum,

Musæum, is very large ; and though it consists mostly of Flemish and German pieces, yet there are some few beautiful originals of Guido, Titian, Michael Angelo, and even of Raphael's hand. Our own Charles the first, by Vandyke, and his sons, by Kneller, hold a distinguished place. They were, you will recollect, by the mother's side, of Danish extraction. The royal families of England and of Denmark, derive their common descent from Frederic the second : the former, by the female, the latter by the male line. Their own national painters or sculptors scarcely appear in this numerous assemblage of artists. There are, however, some paintings, chiefly historical, by Charles Dremander, a Dane, which seemed to be not ill executed. Among these, is one of the famous Scandinavian princess, Margaret de Waldemar ; who towards the close of the fourteenth century, united in her person the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. She appears in the act of receiving the homage of Sweden, from it's sovereign, Albert.

I have

I have never yet said a word relative to the royal palace itself, of which the whole Musæum constitutes only a very small part. It was constructed by the present king's grandfather, Christian the sixth; and, though it cost six millions of dollars, yet the inscription over the grand portal declares, that the sovereign erected it from the ordinary revenues of the crown, without laying any additional taxes or imposts on his subjects. This was, however, owing to the systematic and laudable parsimony of Christian's father, Frederic the fourth; who, notwithstanding the almost continual hostilities in which he was engaged during his whole reign, with Charles the twelfth, king of Sweden; yet left his dominions in the most flourishing state, and an immense treasure, at his death, laid up in the coffers of the crown.

The palace is of a prodigious size; and if I was inclined to criticise it, I should say that it is too splendid and too magnificent for a king of Denmark; on the same principle as foreigners constantly  
remark



## 60      NORTHERN COUNTRIES

remark, that the palaces in England are far beneath the dignity and greatness of the sovereign of the British empire. I have only seen a few of the apartments of state, the far greater part of the internal structure being never shewn, while the royal family reside in town. One of these rooms is very remarkable, and may be properly called the chamber of kings; as it contains no other paintings, except the portraits of all the present reigning monarchs throughout Europe. They have been presented to his Danish majesty, by the respective sovereigns; and I could not avoid smiling, at the different manner in which they have been pleased to habit themselves. The king of Prussia, who has spent his life among camps and armies, and who has oftener slept in a uniform, than on a bed; has modestly dressed himself in a plain blue regimental suit of clothes, while the vizor peeps out at one corner of the piece, as if just to mark the soldier: while Charles the third of Spain, who has scarce ever heard the

the

the clash of arms, "nor the division of a battle knows more than a spinster," has arrayed himself in complete armour, and frowns dreadful from the canvas. This ridiculous ostentation only excites laughter, and stands finely opposed to the modest portrait of a prince, who might with so much propriety have invested himself with military trophies.

I went last Wednesday, in the party that I mentioned, to Malmoe in Sweden: instead of four leagues, the distance is nearly double; and I am persuaded the passage is, at least, as broad as from Dover to Calais. We were, however, favoured by the wind, and got back again to Copenhagen about ten o'clock at night. Malmoe is a poor town, though fortified, and we procured with difficulty a miserable dinner, at a wretched inn. I must carry every thing with me in the carriage, I am told, in my intended journey by land from hence to Stockholm, as no provisions whatever are to be procured in many of the villages. I have,  
however,

however, some difficulty to conceive any country so destitute of accomodations, and do not doubt that the Danes exaggerate matters. We were very ill repaid at Malmoe, for our trouble in crossing the sea to visit it. Except the body of a monk, who was immured alive in the wall of the great church, I saw scarcely any thing curious. Tradition says, this unfortunate wretch survived nine days, as they fed him through a hole with eggs; and that his punishment was inflicted for the crime of adultery.

I cannot say that I am delighted with this metropolis, or find in it, many objects of admiration. I shall set out for the country, to-morrow, to view the royal palaces, and intend remaining here only a day or two afterwards, before I begin my journey through Sweden. The coldness, not to give it a harsher epithet, with whichevery Englishman is regarded at present in this court and capital, is an additional motive to accelerate my departure. At Stockholm and Petersburgh, we are differently considered and treated.

treated. A strong symptom of political alienation between the two countries, is that neither the Danish, nor English envoys, are at present in their respective departments. Mr. Woodford has been in London for some months; and I saw the Baron de Dieden in the drawing-room here a few days ago.

The king was present at the *bal paré* in the palace, last Thursday, when he danced minuets and country dances as usual; in these he excels. He afterwards played at cards till two o'clock, when he retired, and the company separated. This is the last entertainment of the kind, as I am informed, which will be given during the present season, as the summer now approaches, and the court will soon go into the country.

It may with justice be remarked, that there is hardly any intermediate season here, between winter and summer. Eight days ago, the former predominated; and now, so rapid is the alteration, that the leaves are all out, and the weather during  
the

**64      NORTHERN COUNTRIES**

the day is extremely warm. This sudden change is by no means so grateful, as our more slow and progressive transition.

I shall reserve this letter till I return from my intended tour: I promise myself a very agreeable excursion, as we are two coaches, and a large party. I am going now to the Italian opera.

Copenhagen,

Thursday, 12th May, 1774.

I RETURNED yesterday from my tour through the northern part of Zealaad, and must own that I have received great pleasure in this little excursion. Our first stage was to Roskild, which is four Danish, or sixteen English miles from Copenhagen. It is one of the most ancient places on the island, and is said to have been a considerable city, several centuries before the present metropolis had any existence. This capital owed it's commencement, like Venice, to a few fishermen, who erected their huts on the sea shore; and finding it convenient for traffic, gave it the name it now bears of Kiobenhaven, or merchants haven. The only remaining mark of the royal residence which Roskild yet retains, is that of being the burial place of the kings. From the most remote antiquity, the sovereigns of Denmark have been interred in the cathedral. I passed two or three hours, among the tombs and

F

coffers

coffers in which repose their remains. The vaults under the church are very numerous ; and the ground is covered with the coffins of kings, queens, and princes, who, though born in different centuries, are all now collected together, and placed in the same gloomy chambers, with no other attendants than silence and darkness. The splendor which accompanies those of exalted birth, even after death, is in many of these almost vanished ; and time has destroyed the gold and velvet, which originally marked their dignity.

I inquired for the celebrated Margaret de Waldemar, to whom history has given the epithet of the Semiramis of the North, and who united under her sceptre, all the kingdoms beneath the polar sky. The man who accompanied us over the vaults, assured me that her body was interred here ; and by the light of his candle, enabled me just to perceive an iron door, all access to which was blocked up by intervening coffers of monarchs, her successors. “ Within that door,” said he, “ is another vault, where

where rests the queen for whom you inquire. You can see no more." Margaret was contemporary with Richard the second, and Henry the fourth, kings of England. Either as regent, during the minority of her son Oläus, or as sovereign in her own right, she reigned over Denmark and Norway, for six and thirty years. In 1391, she annexed Sweden to her dominions, by conquest; and the famous legislative act, denominated "the Union of Calmar," declared that the three crowns should always remain in future under one sovereign. But, such was, and is the enmity, or antipathy, between the Danes and Swedes, that this union never has been durable, tho' at different periods of time it has been effected by force. Margaret, indeed, governed the three kingdoms with great ability, for the space of twenty years, down to the period of her decease in 1411: but under her successor they were again separated. Christian the second, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the last prince who united them. His atrocities finally disjoined the



Scandinavian monarchy, and elevated the family of Vasa to the throne of Sweden.

While I was in the subterraneous chambers of the cathedral of Roskild, it was impossible not to be impressed with that sublime and awful melancholy, which scenes of this nature are peculiarly calculated to produce. The chilly and unwholesome dampness of the air, the mournful light produced by a solitary taper intruding on these abodes of darkness, the numerous dead ranged side by side, and marked with crowns to denote their departed grandeur;—all these circumstances have a most forcible effect on the mind: nor was it without pleasure that I returned from such a survey, to the upper air and cheerful day.

In one of the chapels of the cathedral, are seen two of the most magnificent monuments that exist in Europe: they are composed of white marble, and were executed in Italy, by order of Christian the fourth; who erected them to the memory of his father and grandfather, Frederic the second, and Christian the third, successive kings of Denmark,

mark. I have already mentioned the former of these princes ; from whom, by his daughter, Anne of Denmark, descends the reigning house of Brunswic Lunenburg. Christian the third was one of the most illustrious sovereigns of the sixteenth century ; the contemporary of our Henry the eighth, and of Francis the first. The beautiful tombs of Francis, and of Louis the twelfth, kings of France, in the Abbey of St. Denis, are, in my opinion, not equal in beauty to these monuments, which are master-pieces of sculpture. I little expected to find such admirable productions of the chissel, in a cathedral, the very name of which is scarcely known beyond the confines of Denmark. Round the tomb of Frederic the second, all the events and warlike achievements which distinguished his reign, are exquisitely designed in Bas-relief. Christian the fourth, who erected these monuments, and who is the idol of Danish story ; has nevertheless received no such honorary tribute from the piety, or the admiration of his posterity : a circumstance the more striking, as the celebrated Wied-

welt, a native of this country, who is now alive, has been lately employed in executing two superb marble monuments, to commemorate two kings of Denmark of the present century. They have been lately placed here; and tho' they cannot enter into competition with those which I have mentioned, yet they convey a high idea of the genius of the artist.

We drove twenty miles from Roskild, to see a foundery for cannon, begun by the late king, Frederic the fifth, and called from his name "Frederic's Work." On this foundery the Danes expatiate, as one of the most extensive and astonishing undertakings in Europe. I viewed every part of it, but must own that it by no means impressed me with any strong sensations of wonder, or of pleasure. They may probably cast very good cannon, and other warlike stores, the work being on a very extensive scale; but it is certainly no such extraordinary production, either of art, or of royal magnificence, as they seem to esteem it.

The palace of Fredericsbourg, which is  
only

only about five or six miles distant from this foundery, is a very large Chateau, moated round with a triple ditch; and calculated, like all the ancient residences of European princes, for defence against an enemy, no less than for splendor, or convenience. It was constructed by Christian the fourth, early in the last century; and according to the vicious, or eccentric architecture of the times, partakes both of the Greek, and Gothic styles. In the front of the grand quadrangle, appear Tuscan and Doric pillars; while on the summit of the building, are beheld spires and turrets. Yet, the general effect of the building, is majestic and solemn. It is at present very little visited by the sovereign; and his present majesty, Christian the seventh, even altered the place of his coronation, which ceremony had always for ages been performed at this palace, by his predecessors. He was crowned in Copenhagen; the unfitness of the apartments of Fredericsbourg for the reception of the nobility and court, together with the expence necessary for refitting and furnish-

ing the castle, being the reasons assigned for this departure from ancient precedent. Some of the rooms are very splendid, though furnished in the antique taste. The knights hall is of a great length. The tapestry with which it is hung, represents the wars of Denmark, and the ceiling is one of the most minute and laboured performances of sculpture that I ever beheld. The chimney-piece was once entirely covered with plates of silver, richly ornamented: but the Swedes, who under various of their kings, and particularly under Charles Gustavus, in the last Century, landed on this island, and even besieged the capital; tore them all away, and rifled the palace, notwithstanding its triple moat, and formidable appearance. The present banished Queen Matilda passed much of her time at this place, during the king her husband's tour through Europe.

It is a beautiful ride through the royal woods, from hence to Fredenborg, the favorite residence of the late King Frederic the fifth, who resided here principally during

ing the latter years of his life, in a kind of seclusion from his court and people. The Danes universally agree in saying, that he was generous, compassionate, mild, and virtuous: his heart was full of humanity, and he was infinitely beloved by his subjects, till he unhappily contracted a fatal passion for wine, which incapacitated him for every public concern, and brought him to an untimely death. The palace of Fredenborg is small, but the gardens are agreeably laid out, adorned with a number of statues by Wiedwelt, the Rubiliac of Denmark. The surrounding country too is very fine, and there is an air of sequestration and retirement spread through the whole scene, which highly pleases. It forms in this respect a contrast to Heresholm, the last of the Danish palaces which I visited on my late excursion. Christian the sixth, who constructed the palace at Copenhagen, was likewise the founder of Heresholm, which is by far the most spacious and magnificent of any belonging to the kings of Denmark. But, like Versailles,  
it

## 74    NORTHERN COUNTRIES

it is destitute of every natural beauty, the ground on which it stands, having been originally a marsh. The gardens are nevertheless extensive and agreeable at this season.

It was the favorite residence of the court, during the period of the Queen Matilda's stay in Denmark: and the man who shewed us the apartments, did not omit to mention the names of Struensee and Brandt; nor did he fail to shew me the chamber in which the unhappy accident happened, when the latter struck the king, and paid for it with his life.

However dreary and comfortless the island of Zealand may be in winter, when covered with snow, it exhibits at this season of the year, a most pleasing aspect. It is flat almost every where, but covered with corn, or woods, and cultivated with great industry. I more than once could have fancied myself on some of the Wiltshire, or Hampshire Downs, by the great number of Tumuli that are scattered on all sides. These circular mounds exactly resemble in size and appearance, those seen in England, and are probably

probably ancient Saxon, or Runic sepulchres. I inquired if any of them had been opened by curious Antiquaries, as many of ours have been; but they only stared, in answer to my question. Here are no Stukelys found, to investigate the remains of piety or magnificence, left by our ancestors. I observed likewise several collections of stones ranged in a circular form, some of which are very large, and reminded me of Stonehenge, though on a smaller scale. Respecting these monuments likewise, they appear to be totally ignorant; and it would only be a loss of time, to attempt to gain any account of their origin or construction, from the people who live near them.

I cannot help mentioning a lively description, which a gentleman, remarkable for his wit, gave me of the isle of Zealand, soon after my arrival at Copenhagen. Dining with him, among other questions natural to a stranger, I asked him, if the country was pleasant and agreeable. His answer was laconic, but very full; and I shall give it



it you in French, as it was uttered, without translating it. "*Monsieur, il n'y a sur cette isle, ni montagne ni riviere ; mais pour des lacs, grace à Dieu, il y en a assez.*" This account is as just, as it is keen; and I had often occasion to recollect the expression, during my late tour. The extent of the island appears to me too limited, for the preference which it has obtained over every other province, or portion of the Danish monarchy, by the capital being situated in it. The sovereign of Norway, and of Holstein, cannot in fact communicate directly with the former kingdom, unless by a voyage, frequently perilous, and always subject to accidents, or delays. From his German dominions, in Jutland, Sleswic, and Holstein, he is separated by both the Belts ; the passage across which, during many months of the year, is exceedingly difficult and uncertain. Nor is Zealand of sufficient magnitude, to take away altogether the odious idea of restraint and confinement. In England, or Ireland, we wholly forget

forget that we are in an island. Even in Sicily, or in Sardinia, that impression might rarely occur to the mind. But Zealand, were I compelled to reside in it, I should consider only as an agreeable prison, the bars of which are not far enough removed from the eye, or the imagination, to enable an inhabitant to divest himself completely of recollections allied to captivity. Such, at least, have been my feelings and reflections, on this capital and island.

The weather is at present very warm, and I promise myself an agreeable journey through Sweden, in defiance of bad inns, and every inconvenience with which I am threatened. The season is, indeed, uncommonly favorable. Only three years ago, they were still buried in all the horrors of winter at this very time, accompanied with a dearth of provisions that approached to a famine. Carriages and horses, loaded with wood, came over from Sweden to Zealand on the ice, and returned again, at the end of April. It was the sixth day of May, when

when four English vessels broke through the ice, and entered the port of Copenhagen ; which could scarcely have suffered greater hardships from the closest siege by an enemy, than it had done from the inclemency of the weather. Midsummer arrived, before the leaves appeared on the trees, or the aspect of nature was completely changed. The relation of these facts reconciles me to England, with all its fogs and changes of climate ; which, however unpleasant, yet when compared with more inhospitable countries, appear as trifles.

I am much pressed by my acquaintance here, to protract my departure for Sweden a few days longer. If I obeyed the impulse of my inclinations, I should most readily comply with their request ; but it being my intention to visit Stockholm, Petersburg, and perhaps Moscow, during the summer, I am proof to any solicitations of friendship ; and as to more tender ties, they are broken and dissolved. My fair Norwegian is no longer here, to fascinate me with her music,  
and

and to break my resolutions by the magic of her eyes. She left Copenhagen, the day before I set out for the palaces; and is gone to reside in a distant part of Zealand, where I shall probably never find her more. I had not even the consolation to bid her a last adieu; and I have now only to endeavor to erase her image from my memory.

On Sunday morning, at latest, I purpose to set out for Elsinore, where I shall cross the Sound to Helsingborg in Sweden; but I shall be six or seven days on my journey from thence to the metropolis, as I intend proceeding leisurely. Though I shall have passed scarcely a month in Copenhagen when I leave it, yet I believe that I have viewed the greater part of the objects which are peculiarly deserving of attention. What ideas I have transmitted of them to you, or how adequately I have conveyed them, it becomes not me to estimate. My next letter will probably be dated from Stockholm.

by the charms of the woman, than of the place, is a secret which I shall not unfold ; but if you can draw any deductions on either side, from your knowledge of my character, you are at full liberty. This lady, whom I believe I mentioned to you before, is a native of Archangel in Russia ; and is an eminent proof that those frozen countries can produce minds as highly tempered, and forms as exquisitely fashioned, as the most happy or genial soils. But whither am I running? I had forgot that I am to give you a description of my journey, and not a picture of a lady.

I crossed the celebrated passage of the Sound, next morning, though it blew very fresh. We were over from shore to shore, in little more than half an hour. At Helsingborg, where I landed in the Swedish dominions, I had the pleasure of viewing the beautiful landscape reversed, which I had seen the preceding evening from the island of Zealand. Which of the two prospects is actually the most charming, I leave  
connoisseurs

connoisseurs to determine: but I must confess that I liked the view from Elsinore infinitely beyond the other. In the first, Mrs. Fenwick formed the principal figure in the foreground of the piece; whereas, from the tower of Helsimborg, I could hardly with my glass distinguish the house in which she resided. Can you wonder at my preference?

Commencing my journey towards Stockholm, through the province of Scania, esteemed one of the most fertile portions of Sweden; I drove twenty miles in the afternoon; and was then obliged by the approach of night, added to the want of horses, to stop at a miserable little cabin, where I could literally procure nothing besides milk. Though the smell of the chamber was almost pestilential, as the windows had not been opened for many months; and tho' the bed was only a sort of crib placed in the wall, little calculated for repose; yet I lay down during five hours in my clothes, and got again into the carriage by break

of day, at three o'clock on Monday morning. If I had understood properly the manner of travelling in this country, which is to dispatch a peasant forward from every post-house, to procure horses in readiness, I should have doubtless made a considerable progress on my journey ; but as I neglected so necessary a step, I was obliged to wait at every stage for an hour or two, while the horses were brought from the neighbouring villages.

From the consequences of this inattention I was again forced to pass the night in a more desolate and wretched hovel than the first; where, after having with some difficulty cleared the room of the peasants, male and female, whom curiosity attracted to gaze on me, I wrapped myself in my great-coat, near the fire, and slept upon a table. On the ensuing morning, when I continued my journey, the whole aspect of nature, which before presented a smiling picture, was suddenly changed. The snow having fallen profusely during the night, lay  
upon

upon the ground two feet deep; and winter seemed to have renewed its empire over these inhospitable plains, from whence the month of May cannot banish him. In the hope of reaching Jonkioping before night, I set out, however, very early, in defiance of the inclemency of the weather, which from having been very mild, or rather warm, was become in the lapse of a few hours, as cold and piercing as our Decembers. The drivers seemed nevertheless totally unaffected by this sudden alteration of climate, which did not produce any change in their dress or clothing; and the peasants whom I met, both men and women, were all bare-footed as before.

The snow, however, conspiring with the want of horses, prevented me from reaching this town; and I remained last night at a house, which, for horror of situation I think it would be difficult to parallel. It was distant from any village or hamlet; the spot on which it stood being bare rock, destitute of any covering of earth, surrounded on every



side by the deepest woods which it is possible to conceive, and in which I had not beheld one human creature, for two leagues before my arrival. The chamber, as well as the bed, were such as frequently occur in the descriptions of Cervantes, or of Le Sage ; and presented few allurements to any, except a wearied traveller. Yet, in this situation, fatigue made me sleep very sound, and my servant near me, till the return of day, when I entered my carriage, and left this most melancholy and wretched habitation. Had I been in Spain or Portugal, I own that my apprehensions might perhaps have kept awake, and I should have recollected every recital of murders and assassinations, of which nurses or novels had informed me: but here, among the Swedes, a virtuous and simple race of men, these accidents rarely or never happen ; and persons may travel in perfect safety, from Helsimborg to the extremity of Lapland, without danger, or almost any precaution.

I got

I got here about ten o'clock this morning, and gladly enjoyed a few hours of relaxation, after so many unpleasing occurrences. It is difficult to give you a picture of the country through which I have passed from Helsimborg to Jonkioping, the colours of which you will not imagine are heightened by fancy or invention. The first twenty miles exhibited some few marks of cultivation or of agriculture; and though there was not one collection of huts or houses, which could be denominated a village, yet scattered cottages, and a little ploughed land, in the midst of an immense waste, informed the passenger, that it was not totally unoccupied or unpeopled. But as I advanced farther into the province of Scania, and afterwards into that of Smaland, even these faint traces of human labour and residence vanished. Thick forests of fir or aspen covered the country; and in the course of sixty miles, I can safely assure you, I saw not a hundred people, and not ten hamlets: villages there are not any. I have travelled

from one stage to another, of twelve or fourteen English miles, without meeting or seeing a single person ; though I cast my eye impatiently round on every side, in hopes to discern the countenance of man.

In many places, the firs on either side the road formed avenues, as grand as those which are often planted in the approach to palaces, or noblemen's seats ; and through the whole scene was spread a kind of rude and gloomy magnificence, which, superadded to their silence and loneliness, very strongly affected the mind. Even the birds seemed to have abandoned these dreary forests, and I heard or saw none except woodpeckers, with, now and then, the cuckoo. I inquired if they did not afford refuge to wolves or bears, as these animals are commonly found in those countries and places, which want population ; but the peasants assured me that the former were only in small numbers, and rarely seen ; and as to bears, there are not any.

This deplorable want of inhabitants is  
one

one of the many evils which Charles the twelfth entailed on his unhappy kingdom. Unchecked by the defeat of Pultowa, followed by the mortifications which he suffered during his residence at Demotica; by the loss of his richest provinces, and bravest subjects; his rage for war, heightened by personal animosity to Frederick the fourth, king of Denmark, induced him still to exert new efforts, and to make fresh levies of soldiery from his exhausted country.— Though more than half a century has now elapsed since his death, Sweden has by no means recovered herself, or re-peopled her uninhabited plains. The combined effect of time, peace, and a beneficent administration, attentive to the felicity of the people, can alone repair the ravages made by Charles's passion for military glory.

The peasants of Scania and Smaland are civil and humble to obsequiousness, grateful for the donation of a third part of a halfpenny, and infinitely less uncivilized and barbarous, than one would be tempted to suppose,  
from

from the appearance of every object around them. I saw a number of very pretty forms among the women, who used to crowd round the carriage at every post-house; and I must own that I distributed my schellings more in proportion to their beauty, than to their age, infirmities, or poverty. Such is the enchantment of this, captivating endowment, that I attempted in vain to resist its influence; my head condemned me, but my heart counteracted all its dictates, and warped my benevolence in compliance with its own preferences.

Had I not taken the precaution to carry wine and provisions with me in the chaise, I must have been nearly starved in three or four days journey through these miserable provinces, where the peasants are strangers to almost every species of aliment, except bread, and salt pork, or dried fish. A question indeed, may arise, whether the former of these deserves the name of bread, as it is a compound of rye and oats; among  
which

which they mingle, in times of dearth, a kind of flour made of the internal bark of trees rasped. It is of a colour approaching to black, and of a taste which you must be as hungry as I was, in order to relish. I imagine it must have been some of this kind of bread, which their own Charles the twelfth is said to have tasted, and to have remarked at the same time to the complaining soldier who presented it, that "it was bad, but it might be eaten."

My servant, who is a German, and has travelled over half Europe in various services, was quite tired with four successive days of such miserable accommodation; and exclaimed in a rapture, at the sight of this place, that it was "*le paradis terrestre*." It is, indeed, in itself a very neat country town, and most delightfully situated on the lake Veter. The snow has already disappeared, and nature wears once more the appearance of spring, as spring is seen in Sweden. I have just been looking down from the top of the church, on Jonkiöping,  
and

and the surrounding meadows, which are all cultivated ; and after the deserts that I have passed since leaving Helsimborg, are peculiarly grateful to the eye. The lake itself, which is near a hundred English miles in length, extends far beyond the view to the north, and resembles rather the sea, than a piece of inland water. I could add some other remarks, if I were not too much fatigued ; and after my late journey, added to three nights passed without having taken off my clothes, a decent bed and clean sheets have charms not to be resisted.

I shall perhaps continue my letter from Norkoping ; or possibly, not till my arrival at Stockholm.

Saturday night, May 21st.

I LEFT Jonkioping on Thursday morning. My journey from thence, for near thirty miles, lay along the shore of the lake Veter, under the high mountains which bound it on the eastern side. I then entered the province of East-Gothland, and reached the city of Lindkoping, which is the capital, the same night. I was charmed to find myself once more in a civilized and inhabited country ; every thing had assumed a cheerful appearance, and the groves of fir were succeeded by a cultivated and liberal soil, covered with grain, and exhibiting marks of industry.

Lindkoping is one of the most ancient cities in Sweden, but contains few objects to interest or detain a traveller, except it's cathedral. The place was, besides, so crowded at the time that I was there, with the Swedish noblemen and their train, who  
were



## 94     N O R T H E R N   C O U N T R I E S

were sent to conduct the Princess of Holstein-Eutin, to Stockholm, that I had no little difficulty to procure a bed. She is about to be married to Charles, Duke of Sudermania, the eldest of his Swedish majesty's two brothers.

I lay at Norkoping last night, which is only twenty miles distant from the former city. It is a very large town, remarkable for its manufactures of fire-arms, and every sort of military weapons. I viewed the whole work, accompanied by the landlord of the inn, who spoke Italian ; and though I am a very incompetent judge of fabrics, which depend wholly on principles of mechanism, it appeared to me highly to deserve attention.

About four miles north of the town of Norkoping, I passed the high mountains which separate East-Gothland from the province of Sudermania. Here the country again becomes rocky, barren, and woody, assuming a savage, romantic aspect. The flat and fertile fields which I saw yesterday,  
have

have been succeeded by a much less pleasing appearance. A scanty soil, where industry, however indefatigable, can only produce a sickly harvest, covers the bosom of a vast expanse of rock, which in many places appears bare and hideous ; or only gives birth to a number of firs, that run up to a vast height on it's naked surface ; and seem kindly lent by nature to conceal in some degree her penurious and inhospitable face.

I now write from a little village, about twenty-seven miles from Stockholm ; and as I have ordered horses at three o'clock in the morning, I hope to reach the capital by ten or eleven. If the country from Helsimborg to this place, can boast of few attractions ; I ought on the other hand to do justice to the roads, which cannot be exceeded in beauty by any in Europe. They are made by the government, and render travelling very expeditious, where the relays of horses are provided by a courier. The Swedish horses are all very diminutive in size ; and, as they

they harness them abreast of each other, and never drive with a smaller number than four, a post-chaise assumes the air of a triumphal car.

My servant is this moment come to inform me, that to-morrow being the feast of Pentecost, otherwise Whitsunday ; such is the fervor of religious severity in this Lutheran kingdom, that the post-masters on the road will not dispatch me during divine service ; nor will the gates of Stockholm be opened to me, should I arrive at them before it is concluded. There is, however, one sovereign remedy in all these cases, which, I make no doubt, is equally efficacious in Sweden, as in England : a remedy, which had it been timely applied by Pope Leo, even to the great father of Lutheranism, before his zeal and his ambition were stimulated by opposition ; it is more than probable, would have mollified his enthusiasm. I do not literally mean gold, though it is somewhat nearly synonymous. To explain this remark, you should be informed, that

that whatever quantity of precious metals they may have in the metropolis of this kingdom, I have not yet seen one piece, however small, either of gold or silver, in my long journey across Sweden, from Helsimborg to this place; nor have they, I am well assured, any such commodities in circulation in the provinces. In lieu of articles so essential, they have, however, two other mediums which supply their place, namely, copper money, and paper. Their bank-notes descend as low as one shilling and six-pence; and they have them of every value, rising gradually from that sum. It is often not a little diverting, when I tender them a note of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to twelve shillings and six-pence English, to see them return, with both hands full of copper coins; nor can they convert it into current money by any other means.

I remember to have read, though I don't exactly know where, that the celebrated Correggio caught the fever of which he died,

H

by

by wheeling home in a barrow, the money which he had received in payment for one of his pieces, in a very hot day, from the country ; the price having been laid down in copper: a fact which would seem to prove that some of the states, in the north of Italy, were then almost as destitute of gold, or silver, as Sweden is in the present age. If Correggio had been a Swede, I should not have been surprised at this story ; and if there were any painters in this country, I should think it must be a very natural and common death among them, unless they were fortunate enough to procure bank-notes.

This extreme scarcity, or rather this absolute want of all gold and silver in Sweden, is another evil which originated, or was aggravated, by Charles the twelfth's destructive passion for war. It is well known, that towards the end of his reign, by an act of despotism which has no parallel, he obliged his subjects to give up all the silver of which they were possessed, either in plate  
or

or coin. In its place he returned them small copper pieces, bearing the impression of the deities of antiquity; struck in the royal mint; and which he ordered to pass as silver dollars, value nine-pence each, throughout his dominions. This expedient was his minister Baron Gortz's invention, in order to supply the king with money to carry on the war in Norway; and it cost Gortz his head, after the death of his master. Numbers of these coins yet remain in circulation, though their imaginary value exists no longer, being reduced to their intrinsic worth, which is somewhat less than a farthing, three of them constituting a halfpenny. I have collected several, as they are unquestionably curious. Probably, in the lapse of another century or two, they will be purchased by medallists and antiquaries at a great price.

The weather is still extremely cold, and I have been this very day in two hard showers of hail. There is likewise an evident difference between the temperature of

100 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

Sudermania, and that of East Gothland: in the latter province, the trees were mostly in leaf; whereas here the spring is much more backward, and in some parts there are scarcely any signs of its approach.— These kingdoms may well be called the domain of winter, since he reigns here for nine months, in full possession.

I shall send this letter by the post immediately on my arrival at Stockholm; and you may expect to hear of me again in a few days, when I have recovered the fatigue of this long journey.

## LETTER VII.

Stockholm,

Saturday, 28th May, 1774.

AFTER concluding my last letter, I continued my journey early next morning, to this capital. As I approached it, the country appeared more rocky, barren, and desert: even at the distance of a single mile from Stockholm, one is tempted to suppose oneself in the most unfrequented and desolate wild. In many places, the country, which is naked rock, with continual undulations, presented the image of a tempestuous sea, suddenly petrified. In other parts, the number of detached pieces of granite, or of stone, profusely scattered on all sides, through which the road frequently winds for miles consecutively; reminded me of the fable of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Nothing marks the vicinity of a great metropolis. Agriculture cannot exert her powers, or



## 102 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

labour produce harvests, where nature has denied the means. The eye discerns nothing on every side, except firs and rugged rocks; and it would seem as if famine had here fixed her eternal residence.

I entered Stockholm over a floating bridge of a very considerable length, across the river, or rather, lake. I was, indeed, stopt at the gates, according to the prediction; but policy, and not religion, was the cause of my detention. After having undergone a very strict search, on the part of the custom-house officers, I was permitted to enter the city.

I am lodged at present close to the royal palace, in an elevated part of the city; and as my landlord informs me, in some of the very suite of apartments, where the archbishop of Upsal resided during six months, previous to the coronation of his present majesty, which office he performed. You will perhaps suppose from this circumstance, that the rooms are very elegant; that the hangings are of tapestry, and the  
chairs

chairs covered with velvet. Nothing less so, I assure you! A monk of La Trappe might almost occupy those in which I live, without any infringement of his vow of mortification; and though I pay a ducat and a half, or fourteen shillings a week, I was scarcely ever so indifferently lodged in any city of Europe. The quality which induced the archbishop to occupy them, was, no doubt, their vicinity to the palace of the sovereign. It would be difficult to discover any other circumstance to recommend them.

I cannot say that I have found many attractions as yet in this city, except such as present themselves to the eye. The king, the queen dowager, and the court, are all in the country, at their respective palaces, or villas; and there is only one public diversion exhibited during the week, which is a Swedish opera. What kind of an entertainment this is, and how far the language is capable of musical beauty or harmony, I am not yet a judge; as there was no representation last Thursday, which is the night on which they

usually perform. For want, therefore, of other immediate avocation, I have begun by wandering over every part of the metropolis, and taking different views of it, from the numerous eminences which surround it. You may possibly accuse me of presumption, when, after a residence of only a few days, I nevertheless venture to assert, that almost in every point of view, the local situation of Stockholm is injudicious in itself, and improper for the capital of the kingdom. Policy, plenty, and commerce, seem all to dictate another part of Sweden, as much more eligible. Permit me nevertheless to justify my opinion by a few remarks.

The inhabitants themselves assure me, that the place owed its origin, as well as its peculiar position, only about three centuries ago, to an accidental contingency. The viceroy, named Berger Jarl, or Earl Berger, who at that time governed the country, having, as they assert, determined to found a city; instead of fixing on a spot  
favored

avored by nature, or dictated by wisdom, for the execution of his plan; committed the event to chance. In compliance with this principle, he set a large piece of wood afloat down the Meler Lake, and wisely resolved that at whatever place it should stop, there to build his projected town. A small island arrested the stick in its progress, and the name of Stockholm, which literally translated, signifies Stick Island, is said to have been given it from this circumstance.

I was shewn the exact point of land, where tradition says that this event happened; an event which reminds us of the fabulous origin attributed in antiquity to cities, in consequence of omens, or oracles, pointing out a particular spot for their construction. Berger Jarl appears to have left the selection of his entirely to fortune, and the first buildings of the city were there erected. It was hardly possible to have found in all Sweden, a more barren desert, or a less inviting situation for a capital, in almost all respects.

Even

Even the lake, or river, has a number of commercial inconveniences, as it winds among rocks and islands, in a surprising manner; and having no tides to facilitate navigation, ships must necessarily have a fair wind, in order to reach the town: should the wind be contrary, it is absolutely impossible to remount the current, which runs in many places with great impetuosity.

If, after having thus boldly presumed to arraign the position of Stockholm, I were called on to point out the province and city of Sweden, which appear to me, from a variety of concurring opinions, to be designed by nature for the foundation of a capital, I should mention Carlskrona. It's central situation in the Baltic, placed as it were midway between Copenhagen and Petersburg: it's vicinity to the Swedish dominions in Pomerania, and its proximity to Germany, as well as to the other European states: the advantages derived from the fertile province of Scania, accounted the finest in Sweden, lying behind it: the beauty of  
 19 the

the port, capable of containing the whole navy, and in which they are at this time always stationed ; even it's climate, which is more mild and southern than that of Stockholm, by some degrees :—all these circumstances, which cannot be disputed, seem to leave an unprejudiced person little room to call in doubt the more advantageous situation of Carlsrona.

There is somewhat uncommonly romantic, savage, and inhospitable, in the whole circumjacent country here, which forms a striking contrast to the tame and uniform scenery that characterizes the vicinity of Copenhagen, and the isle of Zealand. Never were two capitals more dissimilar in their aspect and position, than those of Denmark, and of Sweden ! Even in this season, when all animate and inanimate nature wakes from the long slumber of a polar winter, every thing round Stockholm is joyless and unfertile. The rays of the sun are reflected from the rugged expanse of stone, which invests the city round on every side,  
and

and from whose bosom hardly any verdure springs to regale the eye. I repeat instinctively, as I look round me, the celebrated lines in Churchill's "Prophecy of Famine;" which, however exaggerated they may be relative to the country that he intended to paint, or rather to caricature, are almost strictly and literally true here. I pity the destiny of Descartes, which conducted him in the evening of his life, from the polished society, and happy climate of France, to find an asylum and a grave, on the banks of the Meler Lake, amidst snows and precipices. Nor am I surprised to find a queen, of a character such as Christina, flying from these uncivilized and unlettered kingdoms; renouncing her throne, though surrounded with the trophies of Gustavus Adolphus; and hastening south to the climates and countries, which in every age have been the abodes of refinement and science,

If, however, it is not here that we are to search for monuments of art, or productions of elegance and taste; this kingdom has  
been,

been, on the other hand, more productive of immortal and sublime spirits, than all the others of the north. Gustavus Vasa, the founder of a line of kings, united, if I may so express myself, the talents and ambition of Cromwell, with the patriotism of Hampden. Oxenstiern, who conducted the affairs of Sweden, and influenced those of all Europe, during the minority of Christina; combined the wisest policy, with the purest integrity. If he was inferior to his contemporary Richlieu, in depth of talents, he was exempt from the crimes and violences that stain the French cardinal's administration. I feel myself affected with a reverential awe, as I walk through the church where repose the ashes of Gustavus Adolphus, of Torstenson, of Banier, and of Charles the twelfth. I tread with decent humility over the vaults where their remains are interred, and find a melancholy satisfaction in surveying the marble raised to their memory.

I have conversed several times since my arrival here, with Swedes who appear to be well



well informed, on the subject of the victories and the death of the last of these four heroes. They are almost unanimous in the apprehension, or rather in the avowal, that Charles was put to death by those about him, and did not fall by a shot from the walls of the fortress of Fredericshall, as is commonly supposed, and asserted. As every circumstance relative to the fall of so extraordinary a man excites the strongest interest; and as there seems great reason to imagine that he did not die by the ordinary chance of war; you will, I doubt not, forgive me if I am somewhat minute on this article.

Voltaire has taken great pains to prove the contrary fact, and to vindicate the engineer who accompanied Charles at the time, from so foul a suspicion. I, however, think his reasons very apocryphal; and even some of the circumstances that he relates, if fairly weighed, as rather tending to give rise to, an opposite conclusion. "The king," says he, "walked out to view the state of the  
"advances made by his fortifications: it was  
"night;

“ might ; he kneeled down the better to  
“ inspect them, and leaned his head on  
“ his hands. In this attitude, amidst the  
“ darkness, he received a ball into his  
“ temple, and fell on the parapet, fetching  
“ a deep sigh. He was dead in an instant ;  
“ but, in that instant, he had yet the force  
“ and courage to put his hand to his sword,  
“ and he lay in that posture. Megret, a  
“ French engineer, immediately observed,  
“ with a coolness which distinguished his  
“ character—“ The play is over ; let us  
“ be gone !” I quote by memory, and  
therefore ask Voltaire’s pardon, if I do not  
exactly and literally relate it, as he has  
given it to the world ; but I believe that  
nothing material is added, or omitted.

The Swedes with whom I have talked on  
this subject, allow most of these circum-  
stances to be true, though they form a very  
different inference from Voltaire. Is it, say  
they, probable, that a ball fired from the fort  
at random, and in the night, should so exact-  
ly enter the king’s brain ? Or is it not much  
more

## 112. NORTHERN COUNTRIES

more natural to believe, that a pistol ball discharged from some nearer hand, gave so well-aimed and decisive a blow? His very attitude indicated, as far as appearances can indicate, an intention of defence from some near attack; nor would he probably have laid his hand on his sword, to resist a cannon-shot.

Megret's remark was such, as one can with difficulty suppose any man, however cool, to make upon so disastrous and unexpected an event, as the king's death; and seems rather the observation of a person who had a pre-sentiment of the winding up of this bloody and mysterious catastrophe. Add to this, that the Swedes were universally tired of a prince, under whom they had not only lost their richest provinces, their bravest troops, and their national riches; but, who, uninstructed by adversity, pursued an unsuccessful and pernicious war, dictated by animosity, not policy: nor would ever have listened to the voice of peace, or consulted the internal tranquillity and felicity of his country. His first minister, Baron Gortz's oppressions,

oppressions, superadded to these, were intolerable; and no resource remained, unless to dispatch the king. It was a very favorable opportunity, and was improved to the utmost. Frederic, prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, husband of the Princess Ulrica Eleonora, and who himself eventually ascended the Swedish throne, had many motives not to be too rigorous in his prosecution of the assassins. It is certain that he made little inquiry into the affair; and all passed, if not without suspicion, at least without noise or tumult.

I have been the more inclined to give credit to this relation of Charles's death, from my own personal remarks on his dress. In the arsenal of Stockholm they preserve with great care, the clothes in which he was habited at the time that he fell. These I have examined very minutely. The coat is a plain blue cloth regimental one, such as was worn by every common soldier. Round his waist he had a broad buff-leather belt, in which hung his sword. The king's  
I hat

hat is torn only about an inch square, in that part of it which lies over the temple, where the ball penetrated; and the hat certainly would have been much more injured by a large shot. His gloves are made of very fine buff-leather, and as the left one is perfectly clean and unsoiled, could only have been newly put on. The right hand glove is covered in the inside with blood; and the belt, at that part where the handle or hilt of his sword lay, is likewise bloody; so that it seems clear, he had previously put his hand to his head on receiving the blow, before he attempted to draw his sword, and to make resistance. This circumstance is essential. However, as he expired in the instant, no absolute inference can be made; and after having exhausted conjecture, we must draw a veil over this ambiguous and dark transaction; resting contented with that ignorance and uncertainty, which so often waits on the deaths of sovereigns.

Our own history presents a crowd of similar occurrences. Who can venture to assert  
*how,*

*how*, or even precisely *where*, and *when*, Richard the second, Henry the sixth, or Edward the fifth, perished? Whether James the fourth of Scotland fell at the battle of Flodden, or in his flight after the action; and by what hands he fell, remains a subject of dispute. Over the end of the unfortunate Don Carlos, son of Philip the second, and heir to the Spanish monarchy, an impenetrable veil is drawn, which no historical disquisitions can remove. Did Sebastian, king of Portugal, fall at the battle of Alzira, in Morocco, as the Spaniards assert? Or did he re-appear, more than twenty years afterwards, at Venice, as the Portuguese believe? The instigators of the monk, Clement, who stabbed Henry the third of France; as well as those of Ravallac, the assassin of Henry the fourth, are by no means ascertained.

Even in the Swedish annals, Charles the twelfth is not the only sovereign, the nature of whose death is problematical. The great Gustavus Adolphus's end was not less dark

and mysterious. We know that he was killed on the plain of Lutzen, in 1632: but, whether he fell by the hands of his own followers, or by those of the enemy; whether by domestic treason, or by the sword of his opponents, remains, and must for ever remain, uncertain. The end of Gustavus, and that of Charles, exceedingly resemble each other in this particular. Dr. Johnson has drawn the most finished and masterly portrait of the latter prince, which ever fell from the pen of genius. Juvenal might with pride have adopted it as his own. Do you remember the four concluding lines, that describe Charles's death?

“ His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,

“ A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;

“ He left the name, at which the world grew pale,

“ To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

There is another relic, which was shewn me in the arsenal here, where it is kept with almost pious veneration; which excites, and must for ever excite, emotion in every beholder. I mean, the bloody shirt which  
Gustavus

Gustavus Adolphus had on, when he fell at Lutzen. It reminded me of the shirt which Saladin is said to have ordered to be carried before him, in his triumphal entries, as the only thing that should accompany him to the tomb, of all his trophies. I believe, that the shirt worn by Charles the first on the scaffold, at his execution, is still preserved in the noble family of Ashburnham, among us. And I remember, some years ago, to have seen at Paris, exhibited in a booth, on the Boulevards, a relic, if possible, even more interesting than the shirt of Gustavus. It was the shirt which Henry the fourth had on, when he was stabbed by Ravallac. I examined it very attentively ; as I did likewise the written attestations, deducing, if I may so express myself, the genealogy of the shirt, from the king's valet de chambre into whose possession it first fell in 1610, down to the person who, having obtained it by purchase, then exhibited it to public view, in 1767. Of its identity, it was hardly possible to doubt; and the marks of the *two* wounds, the latter



of which was mortal, made by the dagger of the assassin, were distinctly to be seen in the bosom, on the left side. But, I return from this digression.

I shall not take up your time by an account of palaces, which are ever a repetition of the same ideas; and usually present nothing besides hangings, gilding, and paintings, all over the world. The palaces, in Sweden, though numerous enough, are even less splendid or magnificent, than I have seen in most other countries of Europe. Neither architecture nor painting display their beauties here, in any eminent degree. With the single exception of Christina, the Swedish monarchs, though almost all of them have been crowned with laurels, and covered with military trophies; have never signalized themselves by the protection of the softer arts, which humanize and refine a nation. There is, however, a shining and a living exception to this remark, in the person of the present Queen Dowager; a princess of the house of Brandenburg, sister to the reigning king  
of

of Prussia. She is the avowed protectress of letters, and encourager of merit, in every branch of science. During her husband's life, the late King Adolphus, she is known to have possessed an almost unlimited influence over public affairs; but at present, under the reign of her son, removed from concerns of state, she leads a more retired and secluded life.

Her summer-residence is at Droningholm; the only Swedish palace of which I shall attempt to give you a minute description. It is neither large nor splendid, but on the contrary, is composed of brick, and was erected by Charles Gustavus, the successor of Christina, about the middle of the last century. It's situation is singular, on the banks of the Meler Lake, which almost washes one of it's sides. The gardens, which are large, and extend in front of it, form a striking contrast to the prospects from every other part, which are only rude rocks, firs, and water: thus presenting in the same spot, the display of cultivation and elegance, opposed to that of an almost

savage wilderness. All the apartments of the palace demonstrate the fine taste of its owner. Some of them contain collections of gems and medals; others are filled with natural curiosities, marbles, petrifications, and insects. The names of Paul Veronese, of Rubens, and of Rembrandt, are not here unknown, and several of their best productions appear in the rooms.

I was astonished to see so ample a library; the books of which appeared to me to be collected with great judgment, and are in every branch of polite letters. I have been assured that the queen understands Latin, as well as the modern languages; and I could not help remarking a Horace, which lay open on her reading-desk, among several English, French, and Italian authors. She has enriched this palace with many valuable antiquities brought from Herculaneum; and in addition to those of Greek or Roman workmanship, the idols of Egypt, Serapis, Isis, and the dog Anubis, are among her collection. I must own that I was very agreeably disappointed,

pointed, to find myself surrounded with the productions of antient Greece and modern Italy, at a Villa on the banks of a lake in Sweden, the very name of which is hardly known in the south of Europe; and where I only expected to find the standards of Charles the twelfth, or to see the battles of Gustavus Adolphus, wove in tapestry.

I should not forget, however, to mention two galleries at Droningholm, which are painted in that style: one is decorated with the victories of Charles the tenth, more commonly denominated Charles Gustavus: the other is ornamented with those of his son, Charles the eleventh. The short reign of the former prince, comprising only about six years, from 1654 to 1660, was almost an uninterrupted series of military exploits, and of victories, obtained over the Poles, or the Danes. Nor did Charles the eleventh, his successor, degenerate in any degree from the valor of his father. Both, like Gustavus Adolphus, were carried off in the prime of life. It seems, indeed, to have been the destiny of almost all the family of Vasa, to  
perish

perish either by violent, or by premature deaths.

The kings of this country appear to have possessed talents for war, by a sort of hereditary right; and we hardly find one of them, who appears in that point of view, to have degenerated from the founder of their line, Gustavus Vasa. In the gardens of Droningholm, the queen dowager has lately built a little palace of pleasure, in a semi-circular form, composed of several apartments fitted up in that taste, which we usually call the Chinese: though, unless a few Mandarins and Vases of China form this style, of which we really know scarce any thing; it may just as well be called an European structure, where a whimsical caprice forms the predominant character, and spreads a grotesque air through the whole edifice. I have, however, received high entertainment from the view of this little sequestered retreat; for such Droningholm may rather be denominated than a palace; which, perhaps, from the many various objects of curiosity that it contains, merits the attention of a traveller,

yeller, above any edifice of its kind in the kingdom.

The city of Stockholm forms a very striking contrast, as I have already observed, to the capital of Denmark. Though the population does not exceed that of Copenhagen, it is larger considerably; but, even its superiority of size results more from singularity of situation, than from any real advantage it has over Copenhagen in that respect. Stockholm is built on seven small islands, or rather rocks, formed by the river; the suburbs extending on the main land, to a considerable distance north and south. The inequality of the ground renders almost all the streets of the antient city, steep and inconvenient for carriages; but the houses are lofty and handsome, though chiefly composed of brick. Stockholm is enlarged nearly or quite half, since the death of Charles the twelfth in 1718; and there are many very noble streets in these new quarters, of a vast length.

In

In the midst of the city, stands the royal palace; on the summit of a hill, very steep on every side, commanding a complete prospect of the metropolis, the river, or rather the lake, and circumjacent country. Of a square figure, and fronting every way; though much inferior in convenience or splendor in the internal part, to the palace of Copenhagen, it has a better effect when viewed from without. It was begun by Charles the eleventh; but, like every other edifice, or monument of art and elegance, was suspended by his successor Charles the twelfth; who, during a reign of more than twenty years, scarcely passed three in the metropolis of his dominions. Charles in fact neither inhabited, nor embellished Stockholm. The palace was continued under Frederic, and the late king Adolphus, but is not yet totally completed. During the winter, his majesty, and the whole royal family reside in it, though they are dispersed in the summer months, at their respective country-seats.

I have

I have visited the principal apartments, many of which are splendidly furnished ; but there is nothing which can vie with Droningholm, in the exhibition of art, taste, and refinement.

Scarcely any thing can be imagined more striking, than the appearance of the river; it is divided into a number of branches, the sides of which are covered with public buildings, and elegant houses. In some places, where the breadth is very considerable, its stream is perfectly tranquil and slow: in others, where the channel is narrow, it rushes through with the impetuosity of a torrent. So many small islands are formed by its sinuosities below the town, that almost every magazine of naval or military stores occupies a detached rock, or islet; and there is a wild and romantic cast through the whole landscape, which is not displeasing to the spectator. I am never tired of surveying it. The quay is not long, but of a prodigious breadth, exceeding in that respect any that I have seen; and I am assured there is ten fathom water close to the shore,

I shall



I shall have the honour of being presented to the king on Thursday next, by our minister Mr. Devisme, the hospitality of whose manners, is only equalled by the goodness of his heart. Having been intimately known to his brother, during a stay of some months which I made at Lisbon; he has kindly recommended me to his Majesty's envoy here, by whom I have been received with the greatest cordiality. In his society I have passed some of the most agreeable hours of my residence at Stockholm, and have derived from his conversation no less pleasure than instruction. You may expect to hear from me, after I have seen a prince so distinguished for his abilities, as Gustavus the third; who, at the age of twenty-six, has changed the form of government without effusion of blood, or even apparent difficulty. The present moment is a very interesting one to his Swedish Majesty, and we may add, even to the nation. Yesterday, the news of the death of the king of France, reached this capital, by an express, which

Monsieur

Monsieur de Vergennes, the ambassador of that court here, received from Versailles. It was an event altogether unexpected; and from the very close political ties which are known to subsist between the two sovereigns, as well as cabinets, Louis the fifteenth's death must produce a deep sensation here. Gustavus is said to have received the intelligence with much emotion. But, it is time that I conclude this long letter.

## LETTER VIII.

Stockholm,

Friday, 3d June, 1774.

I WILL endeavour, as far as I am able, to comply with your request relative to the young king of Sweden, and to draw a faithful portrait of him, from the lights that I have had it in my power to obtain. His person, his character, and his actions, are all subjects so pleasing, as well as so flattering to the national vanity, that there is little difficulty to induce the Swedes to converse upon; them. In order to give you a more complete idea of the late revolution, and the present form of government, it is however requisite that we take a short retrospect of the Swedish history.

The despotism of the crown under Charles the eleventh and twelfth was so firmly established, that nothing except the violent abuse of it by the last of those princes, added

added to his disgraces, and the national misfortunes which succeeded the defeat at Pultowa, could have shaken and overturned it. When Charles, met with his death, before the fortress of Fredericshall, having never been married, the crown descended to his sister, the Princess Ulrica Eleonora: But, the oppression of the concluding years of his reign had been such, that on his death, the states availing themselves of the vacancy of the throne, of the general discontent, and of the extinction of the male line of kings; re-possessed themselves of the authority with which the antient constitution invested them. Profiting of these circumstances, they pushed their pretensions to a point, that rendered the royal dignity dependent on the aristocracy, and might justly be said to degrade the majesty of the throne itself. Fully determined to retain the whole civil and political power in their own hands, the states obliged Ulrica Eleonora, previous to her ascending the throne, to renounce all title by hereditary right, or claim of abso-

K

lute

lute power, and to hold the crown merely by elective consent. That princess, of a character moderate and unambitious, resigned even this limited sovereignty two years afterwards, in 1720, into the hands of her husband, Frederic, prince of Hesse.

In consequence of her resignation, a foreigner, unconnected by any ties of consanguinity with the house of Vasa, though married to the sister of the late sovereign, was thus nominally invested with the supreme authority. But, the Swedish history under Frederic, for more than thirty years, down to the period of his death in 1751, is either a blank, or is only marked by disgraces and losses. To the calamities of the close of Charles the twelfth's reign, new misfortunes were added. A great portion of Finland followed the fate of so many valuable provinces, which had been torn from Sweden by Peter the great; by Frederic William the first, the king of Prussia, and by the confederate princes who joined against Charles. Frederic, nevertheless, who had the reputa-

tion of a brave and active king, it is generally apprehended, would have recovered that power of which his queen had been deprived ; if his want of issue had not rendered him in some measure indifferent to an acquisition, which, however gratifying to his ambition, he could not transmit to his descendants.

Adolphus, Prince of Holstein Eutin, who was called to reign over the Swedes after Frederic's decease, was a weak, though an amiable prince. Irresolute and timid, under him the aristocratical authority attained its utmost height. The royal revenue was altogether inadequate to the support of his dignity ; and his want of a due weight in the scale of government, rendered him inconsiderable and despised. He possessed, in fact, only the honors of royalty, and might be considered as a prisoner of state, rather than a king. All the essential functions of majesty were exercised by the senate. Under his reign, Sweden seems to have fallen into the lowest stage of national

debility and degradation. That state, which under Gustavus Adolphus, overran Germany; which under Charles Gustavus, penetrated into the heart of Poland; and which, under Charles the twelfth, dictated laws to Muscovy, Denmark, and Saxony:—that state, during the late reign, when administered by the senate, excited the contempt and derision of Europe.

Sweden entered into the great combination, formed against this Prussian Majesty in 1756; and sent forces repeatedly into Pomerania, to act against him. But, Frederic, though opposed to so unequal a contest, and surrounded by enemies on every side, hardly appeared to consider the Swedes as objects of his serious attention; nor did their armies perform any act worthy of their antient reputation. Sweden was no longer any thing except a name; and never did the suppression of monarchical authority, and the substitution of aristocratic government on its ruins, hold out less temptation to any nation to imitate the example set by the Swedes.

In

In this situation, Gustavus the third succeeded to the crown. He possessed the same advantage over his two immediate predecessors, which his present Britannic majesty did over his progenitors, George the first, and second ; namely, that he was born in the country over which he reigned, and spoke the language perfectly. The Swedes, who, since the year 1720, had beheld only foreigners on the throne, for more than half a century, were charmed to have once more a king taken from among themselves ; and I have been shewn, since my arrival here, several silver medals struck to commemorate this happy æra, on the reverse of which is the inscription, *Fadern's land et*, "It is my native land."

If I may credit the accounts given me of the late procedures of government, while vested in the senate, it was high time to redress the injuries they did the state ; which suffered greater evils from the irresolution, the delays, the divisions, and the venality, of a large assembly, than it can possibly undergo



## 134 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

undergo from the oppression of the most absolute monarch. Time had fully matured these seeds of dissatisfaction; while a young prince, beloved by his subjects, was ready to take advantage of them. It is, however, by no means my intention to relate the history of a revolution, the minutest particulars of which were officially transmitted at the time through all Europe, and which is too recent to be forgotten.

On the 19th of August, 1772, only twenty-one months ago, this extraordinary event was produced, which again restored to the crown those prerogatives, that the sovereigns of Sweden had lost for more than half a century. The king's secrecy, address, and profound dissimulation, in so dangerous and critical a juncture, far surpassed what might have been expected from his age. It is asserted that only five persons in the kingdom were entrusted with the design, which was carried into execution with as much vigor and decision, as it had been planned with sagacity and judgment.

The

The soldiery and the people were successively gained by the pathetic, yet manly eloquence, with which the young king addressed them; who plainly evinced the vast importance of this quality in popular commotions and public affairs.

It must be owned, nevertheless, that Gustavus played a hazardous game, and committed to fortune, not merely his crown, but his life, and the succession in his family to the throne of Sweden, when he attempted the late revolution. Had he failed in the enterprize, it is difficult to say what limits, the senate, irritated, and secretly supported, or propelled by Russia, might have affixed to their vengeance. He might not improbably have been declared guilty of treason to the state, brought to his trial before an incensed assembly, condemned, and led, like Charles the first, to the block. But, when he determined, on emancipating himself from the yoke of the senate, which was become insupportable to a prince of capacity and spirit; he doubtless

prepared his mind for every result, and would have displayed the same magnanimity of character in a prison, or on a scaffold, which he has eminently manifested in success. Never was triumph less abused, or more equanimity and clemency exhibited! Very few persons were imprisoned, and those few, only for a short time; nor have any of them experienced, as I am assured, in the smallest degree, any diminution of the royal favour, on account of their opposition. The senate took a new oath of allegiance to Gustavus, and tranquillity was restored throughout the capital and the kingdom.

It must not, however, be supposed, that an unlimited monarchy, resembling either that of France or Spain, is established in Sweden. On the contrary, they pretend, not without reason, that the present government is formed on the model of the English constitution; and that in some important particulars, the sovereign is more restricted than ours; since he can neither make war nor conclude peace, without the approbation of  
the

the other branches of the administration. It is, nevertheless, difficult to say, what limits are exactly fixed ; or, though nominally fixed how far they may be enlarged and infringed ; particularly under a prince, who has already succeeded in his first enterprise, and who certainly possesses, in an eminent degree, many of those qualifications and talents, which have a prodigious effect on the multitude. Gustavus is affable in his manners and conversation, to a degree of condescension ; often making unexpected visits to persons of very inferior rank, where he behaves with an ease and politeness, that must infallibly render him beloved. He inspects into every department of state in his own person, and the meanest subject may present his grievances, without fear of repulse. His soldiery adore him ; and the peculiar attention that he pays to their discipline, the continual reviews which he makes of his regiments in different parts of his dominions, his disdain of fatigue, and undoubted personal courage, may probably render

render Sweden, some years hence, more important in the scale of Europe, than she has been since the death of Charles the twelfth.

At this instant, there is a camp formed in the royal park, only half a mile without Stockholm, where his majesty is present every day, where he receives the compliments of the nobility and people of condition in his tent, and where he usually sleeps. Very large military reviews are intended to be made in Scania, and in Finland; great quantities of naval and military stores are continually laid up in the public magazines; and every thing manifests the appearance of preparation for future exertion. Unable to reward those officers who adhered particularly to him at the revolution, with pensions or pecuniary emoluments, which the state of his revenues does not permit; Gustavus has found means to attach them by ribbons and stars, which he distributed without parsimony, and which are equally effectual, without draining an exhausted treasury.

Impelled

Impelled by the same principle, he has likewise founded a new order of knighthood, known by the name of *Vasa*, designed to comprehend men of merit in every station; and which is conferred, without the least attention to birth or distinction, on every man who deserves well of his country. Like his uncle, the king of Prussia, he is active on all occasions; more commonly on horseback, than in a carriage, and has rarely any of the parade of royalty. In his person, he is rather low of stature, inclined to a spare habit: his face is far from handsome; and, what is singular, one side of it does not exactly resemble the other, his features being a little distorted; an accident which probably happened in the birth: but the amenity of his manners diffuses over his whole figure an indescribable charm, that obliterates his personal defects.

The Swedes universally lament that he has hitherto no children by the queen, though they have been married about eight years. She is a princess of Denmark, of  
an

an elegant person, and the most amiable character. Various causes, either real or supposed, are assigned for this sterility; but I shall not repeat assertions which are destitute of proof; and which, if true, it were better not to commemorate. The want of heirs to the crown in the direct line, is, however, the ostensible reason for concluding the marriage of Prince Charles at this time. He is commonly denominated Duke of Sudermania, and I am assured, possesses talents, courage, and activity. During the perilous and delicate period of the late revolution, when every moment might be decisive of the fate of the royal family of Sweden, the Duke manifested that he was worthy to second the enterprise of Gustavus. Frederic, Duke of Oster Gothland; the third, and youngest of the sons of Adolphus, the late king, is considered as very inferior in talents to either of his brothers.

When visiting the royal palace, some days ago, I was struck with a small head of a beautiful woman, in his majesty's private apartment.

apartment. On expressing my curiosity to know whom it represented, the person who accompanied me, informed me that it was a lady to whom the king was much devoted, when on his travels; that she was a French woman of high rank; that she is since dead; and that when he received the news, he burst into tears, and would not appear abroad, or be seen, for two days; so passionate was his regard to her memory. I am aware that this attachment may have been merely intellectual: but, if it was that passion which we usually denominate gallantry; (and to judge from the portrait, the original must have been calculated to inspire the warmest emotions;) the fact would seem to contradict the opinion generally entertained here, that Gustavus is not of a susceptible disposition.

That he nourishes an ardent desire of restoring Sweden to the rank and consideration which she formerly held in Europe; and that he meditates the recovery of some of those fertile and numerous provinces, which,  
in



in the course of the present century, have fallen under the Russian sceptre; no person here seems to doubt. It was impossible for me not to be struck with the decorations of the rooms, which his majesty occupies in the palace; than which, nothing can more eloquently pourtray the objects of his perpetual study and reflexion. The walls were covered with plans or views of the battles of Narva and Pultowa; while, on the tables, lay charts of battles and sieges innumerable; chiefly of those fought by Charles the twelfth, and by the other Swedish kings, his predecessors.

These anecdotes may perhaps appear too trivial and unimportant, to merit recital; but, as they tend in some degree to elucidate the private character of a prince, who has already rendered himself celebrated throughout Europe, you will excuse the minuteness into which I have been led, from the desire of conveying to you, as far as my lights enable me, a faithful and accurate picture of Gustavus.

It

It appears to me, that the two great internal obstacles, which must prevent this kingdom from answering to the views of an ambitious or enterprising sovereign, at least for a considerable time to come; are the want of population, and the scarcity of coin. The number of inhabitants in every province of Sweden, bears no proportion to the extent of territory. I am surprised to find that marriage is not encouraged by every honorary, or emolumentary mark of favour, which the government can confer on it: such a policy seems the most essential and necessary to be adopted. If the report be true which is commonly circulated in Stockholm, relative to the other object, I mean, the finances and public money; it doubtless marks a superior system of policy, and a sound train of ministerial management. The plan is, to call in at once all the paper credit now in circulation, and to pay the whole of its amount in specie, from the public treasury: but if this great operation be really intended, it must require time to carry it into execution,

and

and to make so surprising an alteration in the state.

The external impediments with which Gustavus has to struggle, are even more difficult to surmount, or to remove. Carelia, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, and so many other fertile provinces, or flourishing cities, which belonged to Sweden at the accession of Charles the twelfth, are now irrecoverably lost. Except the contracted territory adjoining to Stralsund, denominated Swedish Pomerania; and the Isle of Rugen, lying at the mouth of the Oder; Gustavus has no dominions situated beyond the Baltic. At the beginning of the present century, Russia, it must be recollected, had not emerged from barbarism: nor had the Prussian monarchy, now become so formidable, struck its roots into the soil of Germany. Denmark, Saxony, and Poland, were then the most formidable enemies of the Swedes. Russia now presents an impregnable barrier to the east, as Prussia does to the south. Even Gustavus Adolphus himself,

himself, were he to return on earth, would probably be unable to recover the provinces, which the madness of Charles the twelfth lost, or sacrificed. If, however, we may form any judgment from the appearance of affairs in the north at this time, Sweden seems on the other hand, to have little to fear from any of those great powers who combined against Charles, and who in the end proved victorious. Russia is engaged in a tedious and expensive war with the Porte, which has drained her treasury and population. The imbecility of the government of Denmark, and the dilapidated state of the Danish finances, far more than the matrimonial alliance between the two crowns, renders Sweden secure on that quarter. Poland, torn by intestine commotions, and scarcely to be ranked among the European monarchies, is not now in the condition that she was under Augustus the second, who joined Saxony to his elective kingdom. Prussia is in the closest union of blood and friendship; but experience has taught how

L

brittle

146 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

brittle are all the ties which unite monarchs and politicians.

I shall reserve this letter till I return from my proposed tour to Upsal, and to the iron mines, for which I am to set out this evening.

Elfskar-Eue, on the River Dahl,  
Thursday Night, 8th June, 1774.

UNEQUAL as I find my powers of description, to the beautiful displays of nature which I have witnessed since quitting Stockholm: imperfect as must be the idea that I can convey of objects, which elude the chains of language; and which, in order to be fully felt, must have been seen; I shall yet adhere to my promise, and endeavour to give you a narrative of my journey, while the impressions that it has made on my imagination are still lively, and the traces are undecayed by succeeding ideas.

I quitted Stockholm, last Friday, in company with Mr. Lindegren, a gentleman who did me the honor to be my guide, and to whose friendly politeness and attention I am exceedingly indebted. We stepped into our vis-à-vis, about six in the evening, after storing it with wine and cold provi-

sions, sufficient for a much longer journey, and which the Swedish hospitality has hardly suffered us yet to diminish. As we were desirous of travelling with expedition, we only stopped to change horses, and about three o'clock in the morning arrived at Ronease, the seat of Mr. Le Febre, a gentleman with whom we proposed making a short stay. I can hardly say that we drove by night, since at this season of the year, darkness is unknown, and I could have very easily read a large print at midnight. Mr. Le Febre's house is built in one of the most eligible and pleasant situations that I have seen in Sweden, on the banks of a lake, which may be about nine English miles in circumference, and in a cultivated country.

In the afternoon of the ensuing day, we crossed the lake in a boat, where it was about a league broad, in order to view the ruins of a castle on the opposite side, which exactly faces the house where we were entertained, and forms a beautiful termination of the view. An antient peasant, who was

at

at work in the garden adjoining it, conducted us through such of the apartments as are yet accessible. He said, that it was called Morby Palace, and had been built no less than eleven hundred years ago, as tradition delivered, by a bishop's daughter. It passed afterwards, as he assured us, into the renowned family of the Oxenstierns, who inhabited it in the last century, but quitted it on account of it's continual want of repairs, which rendered it untenable. He added, that many of the Swedish sovereigns in days of yore, had visited it, and that national diets had been held within it's walls. It has, indeed, a most venerable and majestic appearance at this time; and there seemed to be an air of departed splendor spread through the whole edifice, which corroborated very strongly the peasant's story.

We returned before supper to our benevolent host, who omitted nothing to render our visit agreeable, and pressingly solicited us to prolong it for some days. Early next morning, however, we proceeded on our



journey, and were hospitably entertained at another magnificent country-seat belonging to the same gentleman, named Gimo-Bruc, about thirty miles from the first, by his steward, to whom he had previously sent orders for that purpose. The far greater part of the intermediate country between Ronease and Gimo-Bruc, was a wild and savage wilderness, thinly inhabited, covered with forests of fir and aspin, among which bare rocks continually presented themselves. We drove twenty miles further in the afternoon, through a country of nearly a similar description, and alighted about five, at a palace, rather than a villa, belonging to a lady, whose husband, an Englishman, of the name of Jennings, is lately dead. The name of the house is Forsmark. She was playing at chess in the drawing-room, with an old nobleman, when we entered, and most politely bid us welcome, requesting us at the same time to make as long a stay as our time would admit. I readily accepted so obliging an invitation, without knowing the

the superadded inducements which I afterwards found, to impress the recollection of Forsmark on my memory.

Tea was brought, and two ladies, who as well as ourselves were visitors, entered the apartment. The eldest of these might, perhaps, be about sixty. She not only spoke French perfectly well, but conversed very fluently in English, which she said that she had acquired from Count Gyllenbourg's lady, who was a native of England; and who was married to the count during his residence as envoy at the court of London, in the reign of George the first. The youngest, who was her niece, might have passed her nineteenth, but I think could not have completed her twentieth year. A few freckles which the sun had produced on her skin, in spite of every care to prevent it, only served to set off the fairest complexion in the world. Her features were very small, and the contour of her face was more approaching to the round than the oval. When she spoke, her under lip hung a little down, and dis-

## 152. NORTHERN COUNTRIES

closed at times a range of teeth perfectly white. The colour of her eyes was grey ; but nature had given them a persuasive and affecting eloquence, which left the gazer no power to remark critically that defect, if a defect it was. Her habit was a *Jesuite a la campagne*, of purple brown, trimmed with white silk, and reaching to the wrists. That which it denied, however, to the view in one part, it disclosed in another. Her arms were invisible ; but her neck, down to that part where it swells into the bosom, was exposed to view. It's whiteness might challenge a comparison to snow, without any metaphor : round her neck she wore a blue and white satin binding, and from it depended a little diamond cross, which in any other situation would have attracted notice, but here was lost in the superior charms of the breast on which it reposed. Her hair was light, and dressed with a very becoming grace. When she went out, she wore a white riding hat, surmounted with a black feather, and covered her face with a thin veil

veil of green silk. Her whole person and dress displayed a *propreté* which was strikingly attractive, and which had peculiar merit in a country, where the women of every condition are rather perhaps liable to the contrary imputation.

You must not wonder at the minuteness of this portrait, which, had you conversed with the original, you would be tempted easily to forgive. Her conversation was such as bespoke a person of education and condition. She spoke the purest French, and with the most graceful delivery. She sung prettily, and at my request favored me with two or three Swedish, as well as French songs. I was more pleased with the former, which I did not understand, than with the latter, which I could perfectly comprehend. The reason perhaps was, that I remarked, or thought I could remark, a something in her manner, in her eyes, in her action, when she sung the first, which was not to be traced in the other. I naturally wished to know the sentiments  
couched

couched under the Swedish words, and desired her to have the goodness to inform me what was the subject of them. She declined this explanation, from an incapacity, as she asserted, of transfusing it's beauty into another language; and I affected to be perfectly convinced that her avowed excuse was just, though my heart assigned a truer reason for her refusal, and gave me perhaps as faithful an idea of the song, as a literal translation could have done. It is needless to say that I paid to such a person, that degree of attention which her personal and mental accomplishments so justly challenged, and to which I could not be insensible. She seemed to be no way displeased with my endeavors to render myself acceptable to her; and I had the vanity or the weakness to imagine, when I kissed her hand, and held it a moment between mine, before I parted with her to retire to our respective apartments at night, that I had secured some little interest in her esteem. We all breakfasted in our separate rooms, the  
ensuing

ensuing morning, according to the custom here ; where people never meet, as in England, to eat rolls, and drink tea, round a large table.

On coming down into the drawing-room, I found the nobleman, of whom I made mention at my first arrival. He is by birth a Pomeranian, and is called Count Liewen : he possesses the highest honors that the crown can bestow, being one of the sixteen senators, and a knight of the Seraphim, the most honorable of any order in Sweden. Our conversation turning on Charles the twelfth, his character, and victories, I asked him, if he remembered that monarch's death, and would favor me with the particulars of it? He gave me the fullest answer to this question, which, it being perhaps the most authentic and indisputable authority to be now procured, I shall repeat, as nearly as my memory assists me, in his own words.

“ There are very few men remaining alive,” said Count Liewen, “ who can speak with so much certainty to that point, as myself. I

was

was in the camp before Fredericshall, and had the honor to serve the king, in quality of page, on that night when he was killed. I have no doubt that he was assassinated. The night was extremely dark, and it was almost an impossibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head, at the distance, and on the spot, where he stood. I saw the king's body, and am certain that the wound in his temple was made by a pistol bullet. Who inflicted it, is unknown. Siker was suspected, because he was not with his majesty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment after. Those," added he, "who are used to military affairs, well know the report and noise which a cannon-ball makes; but, the report of the shot which destroyed the king, was that of a piece close at hand, and totally different. I do not believe that the prince of Hesse was either concerned, or privy to it, in any degree; but the belief that Charles was put to death by a private hand, was general in the army at the time."—I leave you to make your own reflections,

reflections, on this very extraordinary and dark transaction.

The Count had visited, after Charles's death, almost all the courts of Europe. He was in England in 1722, and knew Mr. Walpole, (better known under the name of Sir Robert,) at that time. Count Liewen had been in company with the celebrated Philip, Duke of Orleans, regent of France; and with Augustus the second, king of Poland, so renowned in the annals of gallantry. He visited the beautiful Countess of Konigsmarc, mistress of that monarch, after her retreat to the Abbey of Quedlingbourg; and he assured me that her person was then extremely attractive, though she was in the decline of life. He was in the court of Denmark, during the reign of Frederic the fourth; but he added with regret, that he had never the pleasure to see the greatest prince and man of his age, Peter the first.

I was delighted with the conversation of this venerable nobleman, and felt that intelligence can fascinate almost as much as beauty. Will you not then applaud my  
self-



self-command, when I inform you, that in spite of so many inducements to prolong my stay, I yet forced myself away on the following evening; and pursued, though with reluctance, my intended journey? I must, however, mention to you one circumstance relative to the young lady of whom I spoke before, which may perhaps make you smile at my expence. There is, as I am assured, an *Etiquette* adjusted in this part of the world, with respect to female deportment, which permits to a lover or an acquaintance, the utmost familiarity with the hand of his mistress: but, her lips, nay, her very cheek is a Palladium which she guards with unremitting vigilance, and to which neither eloquence nor subtilty can usually procure him any access. I was resolved, however, to try whether I could not surmount this impediment. But, convinced that no address or contrivance would avail me, without the additional force of authority and example to influence her, I bethought me of a stratagem.

When I bid the whole company adieu,  
I began

I began with the mistress of the mansion, and returning her my warmest acknowledgments for her hospitality, I bowed on her hand, which she gave me to salute. "And now, madam," said I in English to the old lady, "I shall take leave of you in the English style: I am sure you have no objection." So saying, I put my arm about her neck, and kissed her cheek. She was very well satisfied with this piece of gallantry, and said to me, laughing, "Go, and serve Charlotte so." I advanced, and throwing into my attitude, as well as countenance, the utmost respect, asked, if I might aspire to such a favor. I should not, however, have waited for an explicit permission, and was just going, as I imagined, to reap the fruit of my intrigues and labours, when stepping back hastily two paces, she laid her hand on her breast, with an air which implied more than any words could have done; and throwing a look at me of surprise and refusal—"Monsieur," said she, "*il faut vous souvenir que je suis Suedoise.*"—

She needed not to be more minute or firm in her determination : I saw that I had undertaken an enterprize above my capacity, and had only to endeavor to retire with honor. I disdained all approach to violence; and was resolved that what I could not receive from her own consent, I would never attempt to seize by compulsion. Her hand she tendered me, and making a virtue of necessity, I imprinted on it a kiss, and bid her farewell. She looked at me, when I left the room, and accompanying us to the gate, followed the carriage with her eye till it was out of sight. Whether she intended this, as some compensation for her rejection of my attempt; or whether she did not partly repent of having refused me the gratification of so innocent a liberty, I cannot pretend to say : and I was too much mortified, as well as vexed at the time, by so ridiculous a trifle, to concern myself with ascertaining the principles on which her behaviour was founded. I soon, however, recovered my gaiety, which this accident had

had clouded, and prepared myself for a very different scene, than that of Forsmark.

We lay at a pretty village called Ostarby, on Monday night, belonging to a gentleman of the name of Grille; and went about three miles next morning, to see the mines of Danmora. They are celebrated for producing the finest iron-ore in Europe, the iron of which is exported into every country, constituting one of the most important sources of the national wealth, and of the royal revenue. The ore is not dug, as in our English mines of tin or coal, but is torn up by powder. This operation, which is performed every day at noon, is one of the most tremendous and awful that it is possible to conceive. We arrived at the mouth of the great mine, which is near half an English mile in circumference, in time to be present at it. Soon after twelve, the first explosion began. I cannot compare it to any thing so aptly, as to subterraneous thunder; or rather, to vollies of artillery discharged under ground. The stones are thrown up

M

by

by the violence of the powder, to a vast height above the surface of the earth; and the concussion is so great, as to shake the surrounding earth or rock on every side. I felt a pleasure, corrected with terror, as I hung over this vast and giddy hollow, to the bottom of which the eye attempts in vain to penetrate. As soon as the explosions were finished, I determined, however, to descend into the mine.

There is no way of doing it, except in a large deep bucket, capable of containing three persons, and fastened by chains to a rope. The inspector, at whose house I had slept the preceding night, took no little pains to dissuade me from the resolution; assuring me, not only that the rope or chains sometimes broke, but, that the snow and ice which lodged on the sides of the mine, frequently tumbled in, and destroyed the workmen; nor could he warrant my absolute security from one, or from both, of these accidents. Finding, however, that I was deaf to all his remonstrances, he provided

vided me a clean bucket, and put two men into it to accompany me. Mr. Lindegren, the gentleman whom I have before mentioned, had already descended into the mines of Fahlun in Dalecarlia, where there is a sort of ladder fixed for that purpose; and he did not choose to view a second mine, after having once completely gratified his curiosity. I wrapped myself therefore in my great-coat, and stepped into the bucket. The two men followed, and being swung off from a crane, we were let down. I am not ashamed to own, that when I found myself thus suspended between heaven and earth by a rope, and looked down into the deep and dark abyss below me, to which I could see no termination, I shuddered with apprehension, and half repented my curiosity. This was, however, only a momentary sensation; and before I had descended a hundred feet, I looked round on the scene with very tolerable composure. I was near nine minutes before I reached the bottom, it being eighty fathoms, or four hundred and eighty feet.

The view of the mine, when I set my foot to the earth, was sublime in the highest degree; but, whether terror or pleasure formed the predominant feeling as I looked at it, is hard to say. The light of the day was very faintly admitted into these subterraneous caverns. In many places it was absolutely lost, and flambeaux supplied its place. I saw beams of wood placed across some parts, from one side of the rock to the other, where the Miners sat, employed in boring holes for the admission of powder, with as much unconcern as I could have felt in any ordinary employment: though the least dizziness, or even a failure in preserving their equilibrium, must have made them lose their seat, and dashed them to pieces against the rugged surface of the rock beneath. The fragments recently torn up by the explosion, previous to my descent, lay in vast heaps on all sides, and the whole scene was calculated to inspire a gloomy admiration in the beholder. A confinement for life in these subterranean iron  
dungeons

dungeons, must surely, of all punishments which human subtilty has devised, be one of the most terrible. I remained three quarters of an hour in these gloomy and frightful caverns, and traversed every part of them which was accessible, conducted by my guides.

The weather above was very warm, but here the ice covered the whole surface of the ground; and I found myself surrounded with the colds of the most rigorous winter, amidst darkness and caves of iron. In one of the recesses, which ran a considerable way under the rock, were seated eight wretches, warming themselves round a charcoal fire, and eating the little scanty subsistence produced from their miserable occupation. They rose with surprise at seeing so unexpected a guest among them, and I was not a little pleased to dry my feet at their fire, which were wet with treading on the melted ice. There are no less than thirteen hundred of these men constantly employed in the mines, and their pay is only a



Swedish copper dollar, or three pence English, a day. The mines of Danmora were first opened about the year 1580, under the reign of John the third ; but they have only been constantly worked since Christina's time, towards the middle of the last century. After having gratified my curiosity with a full view of these gloomy abodes, I made the signal for being drawn up ; and can most seriously assure you, that I felt so little uneasiness while reascending, compared with my sensations on being let down, that I am convinced, in five or six times more, I should have been perfectly indifferent to it ; and could have solved a problem in mathematics, or composed a sonnet to my mistress, in the bucket, without any degree of apprehension. So strong is the effect of custom on the human mind, and so contemptible does danger become, when familiarized by repetition !

Leaving the mines of Danmora, we proceeded to the seat of Baron de Geer, at Lofsta, which is about twenty miles distant.

He

He was gone himself into the province of Gestricia, only the day preceding ; but he had left the strictest orders for our entertainment and reception with his steward, who performed with punctuality his master's command, and seemed to know no bounds to his hospitality and respect. Lofsta is one of the handsomest country-seats in Sweden, and is, I believe, one of the most northern in Europe. Nature is every where forced at an immense expence ; and art has omitted nothing to embellish and adorn a spot, which, without those aids it must be a melancholy marsh, devoid of any beauty or charm. Lofsta may be a very agreeable residence for a few weeks, in July and August ; but it is situate too near the pole, to be tolerable the far greater part of the year, during six months of which it is buried in snows. The ground has not been totally free from snow, more than three weeks at this time ; and though the sun shone very clear yesterday morning, yet the wind being at north-east, which comes from the deserts of Lapland, it was

so cold, that I was half frozen even in a great-coat. Such is my dislike of these inhospitable and polar countries, that no common honors or fortunes could tempt me to reside altogether in them; and I would rather inhabit a cottage, beneath a temperate and genial heaven, than a palace, invested for so many months with ice and darkness. This sentiment the Swedes laugh at, and assure me that there are pleasures in furs, and sledges, and the rigors of winter, of which I have no conception. I am very ready to allow it, and only desire to be excused from experiencing them in my own person. I presume that the native inhabitants of Karga, near the Pole, where the Russian nobles are often sent, into exile, can likewise find reason to like their native climate, and to justify the predilection that we always feel for those objects, to which we are accustomed.

From Baron de Geer's seat, we had about twenty-five miles to the river Dahl, which divides the provinces of Upland and

and Gestricia. The greater part of the intermediate country belongs to the Baron: it far exceeds in beauty, cultivation, and population, any tract that I have seen since quitting East Gothland. The dwellings of the peasants were neater, and their dress is superior to those of Sudermania. On the southern bank of the Dahl we left our carriage, and passed over in a boat to the island of Elfcār-Eue, from whence I now write. It is about three miles in circumference, almost entirely covered with woods of aspin, birch, and fir, which at this season of the year are very beautiful, and spread a gloom not unpleasing to a contemplative mind. We are lodged at a very genteel, though rustic and sequestered habitation; the master and mistress of which, Mons. and Madame de Tottie, omit no endeavours to render our stay agreeable.

As we arrived here yesterday, about noon, it was our intention to have left Elfcār-Eue this morning; but I have found it impossible so soon to quit a place, where I have enjoyed the most sublime and wonderful prospect  
that

that I can almost conceive. This is the cataract of the river Dahl, about a mile and a half distant from the house where I am at present. It is now eleven o'clock at night, and I can most distinctly hear it's roar, which alone interrupts the solemn silence spread over the face of nature. I have passed near five hours in gazing upon it, at different times to-day, and am yet unsatisfied with so transient a survey. In vain would I attempt to raise in your mind, the feelings of wonder and delight, which I have experienced from it : equally in vain shall I endeavour, by a description of it's minute parts, its size and depth, to excite in you correspondent and similar emotions. Yet what I can do, in order to convey some imperfect idea of it, I shall.

The Dahl rises in Norwegian Lapland, and after passing through a vast extent of country, empties itself into the Gulf of Bothnia, about twenty miles from this place. It is above half a mile broad, between the island from which I now write, and the falls ; but at the precise spot where  
are

are the cataracts, it's banks being much narrower, it runs with vast impetuosity. A small island, or rather rock, of half a quarter of a mile in circumference, divides the river at the place. In winter, when one of the cataracts is frozen over, the island is accessible ; but at this time it would be impossible to reach it alive. The eye takes in both falls at once, from either bank. The depth of each is about forty feet ; but, one is abrupt and perpendicular, the other oblique and shelving. As nearly as I can judge by my eye, the breadth is not in either less than eighty or ninety yards, and I am inclined to believe that it is more.

The tremendous roar of these cataracts, which, when close, is superior far to the loudest thunder ; the vapour which rises incessantly from them, and even obscures them from the eye in many parts ; the agitation of the river below, for several hundred yards, before it resumes its former tranquillity ; and the sides covered with tall firs, which seem like silent and astonished spectators

spectators of it:—these assembled objects form one of the most picturesque and astonishing scenes, to be beheld in the volume of nature: nor would I have resigned the pleasure that I experienced, as I lay on the loose stones almost immediately beneath it, and was covered with the spray from it's dashing billows, for the most voluptuous repast. It is only nine days ago, since six unhappy fishermen were carried down by the rapidity of the current, and forced over the precipice, where they all perished. Four of their bodies were found; but, so disfigured and lacerated by the violence of the water, that they could not be recognized; and many similar accidents have happened.

After having viewed the cataracts this afternoon, we drove about three miles along the banks of the river, towards its mouth, to see the intrenchments made by the Russians, when they landed in 1719, under the reign of Ulrica Eleonora, and burnt the country on every side. Here I alighted from the carriage; and as this spot is the boundary of  
my

my journey to the north, and the nearest approach that I may probably ever make to the pole, I could not help leaving some memento of my wanderings, by engraving with a penknife, on the bark of a tall aspin, the name of my mistress, and the year when I visited these inclement kingdoms. At this island, from whence I now write, I am only about two hundred miles from Umea Lapland : and even the intermediate provinces are sufficiently barbarous and uncivilized, to deter many travellers from entering them. The gentleman who resides here, has given me such a picture of the winter as makes me shudder ; and I bless my fortune that I have only seen Elfcars here in June. Bears and wolves are then numerous in the forests ; but at this season are rarely seen. The river Dahl abounds with salmon and sturgeon, as well as with otters. The woods, or rather forests, through which we have travelled, swarm with insects, already generated by the summer ; and we have been compelled frequently to draw up  
the



174    N O R T H E R N   C O U N T R I E S

the glasses of the carriage, notwithstanding the heat, in order to prevent the intrusion of the wasps and hornets which followed us. To-morrow morning early, we shall turn our faces to the south, and we expect to reach the city of Upsal at night ; which, as we do not pursue the direct road, is distant from hence between fifty and sixty miles. I cannot promise to write to you from thence, as our stay will not probably exceed a day ; but from Stockholm, expect the conclusion of my tour.

Stockholm,

Tuesday, 14th June, 1774.

WE got to Soderfors, which is twenty miles distant from Elfcar-Eue, about ten o'clock on Friday morning. The road lies along the sides of the Dahl, on which the village itself is situated. After staying to view a great iron foundery, belonging to Mr. Grille, for casting and forging anchors, at this place, we proceeded to Upsal, and arrived there early in the evening. I had intended to devote the following day to the survey of the colleges, public buildings, curiosities, paintings, and all those exhibitions of art and learning, usually found in seminaries of knowledge and study. The Swedes had inspired me with such exalted ideas of this university, that I was only fearful lest a single day might be far inadequate to such an undertaking, and I wished to have passed a longer time in so agreeable an occupation! I am, however, at present completely undeceived,

deceived, and can assure you that Upsal possesses hardly one inducement to impel a man of curiosity to visit it, unless from its being the residence of a Linnæus. This Lycæum of the north, contains not a single piece of painting within its walls, and only two productions of sculpture, which are busts of Gustavus Adolphus, and of Charles the eleventh. A gentleman who resides here, whose liberality of mind and manners entitle him to my grateful acknowledgments, Mr. Troil, son of the late archbishop of Upsal, did us the honor to be our Ciceroni, and to conduct us over the place. I inquired of him how many colleges there were, in Upsal, and which was the most celebrated. "We have," said he, "three; the Carolian, the Gustavian, and a third, of inferior note; but I cannot say that any one of them greatly deserves attention. The principal objects of consideration are the library, the cathedral, and the botanical garden. I hardly know of any thing else." The first of these is a neat, good building, though the books that it contained, appeared

appeared to me to be neither numerous, nor very choice in the selection. There is in it a cabinet, where, for want of better employment, I passed an hour or two, while the librarian shewed me a number of little rarities, which are preserved with great care. You will smile at hearing that among these, is the identical bag which Judas Iscariot kept; one of the thirty pieces of silver money, which he received for his perfidy in delivering up his master; and a pair of red slippers, in which the virgin Mary paid a visit to her cousin Elizabeth. I must do the man the justice to say, that he blushed as he shewed them to me; and I could not help telling him, that I thought the university would not do amiss, to send these precious relics to St. Januarius, or to my lady of Loretto; who, if they were not already provided with others, might probably be highly obliged by so valuable an accession.

There were, however, some curiosities, which, as connected with the Swedish history, attracted my attention. Among these, was

N

the

the astrological diary, belonging to Eric the fourteenth, king of Sweden; a prince who had the weakness to believe in judicial astrology. In his diary he had marked the days, on which he was menaced with misfortunes; and among them is that particular day, upon which he was subsequently deposed. A cabinet of curious workmanship, presented by the city of Augsburg to her deliverer Gustavus Adolphus, in 1631; together with the cards, and several personal ornaments, or trinkets, of his daughter, Queen Christina; are unquestionably valuable, since they recal the memory of that illustrious prince, and his eccentric successor in the Swedish throne.

The cathedral of Upsal is constructed of brick; and as the two towers at the west end lately wanted repair, they have with great taste added a Doric architrave, to these Gothic walls, and placed two great domes of copper on the top. It must notwithstanding be for ever venerable, while the remains of Gustavus Vasa, and of the Chancellor Oxenstiern,

Oxenstiern, repose in it. The last of these great men, whose virtue and wisdom Sweden yet reveres, rests in an obscure chapel, beneath a common stone. He has no monument erected, or epitaph inscribed to his memory : while a St. Eric, who was a king and a devotee in some barbarous age, is preserved in a shrine of silver gilt, and placed on the right hand of the high altar. I staid a considerable time, to consider the tomb of Gustavus Vasa. It stands behind the high altar, is composed of white marble, and the sculpture, which is very masterly, sufficiently proves that the artist was not a native of Sweden. The king is represented in a recumbent posture, between his two queens; both of whom are richly habited. I was hurt to see that time had already considerably injured the decorations of the monument, though little more than two centuries have elapsed since Gustavus's death. I think, he died in 1560.

The Swedes cannot too highly venerate the memory, or honor the ashes, of Gus-

tavus Vasa. The more that I contemplate his character, and appreciate his actions; the more am I compelled to admire them. What must have been the strength of mind, and fortitude of soul, which, when proscribed and pursued by the tyrant of his country, Christiern the second, could descend for refuge into the mines of Dalecarlia, amongst men savage and hard as the ore which they worked? It was from such an abyss that Gustavus emerged, and with a force composed principally of those hardy and virtuous peasants, that he emancipated Sweden from a foreign, as well as from a bloody and ignominious yoke. Perhaps, from having so recently visited, though only for a moment, the mines of Danmora; I am more strongly, and deeply impressed with the magnanimity of a man, who, in those of Fahlun, found, not a prison, or a grave, but the cradle of liberty, and the nursery of war. I believe that antiquity has not any thing to place in competition with this act, and I know no parallel to it in modern history.

history. Henry the fourth of France, and William the first, Prince of Orange, each of whom liberated their respective countries from domestic, or from external enemies; are nevertheless, in every point of view, unable to sustain a comparison with the founder of the house of Vasa.

It is curious to consider the fate of Gustavus's immediate descendants. His three sons may be said to have successively deposed each other. The eldest, Eric the fourteenth, alienated in his understanding, though of an amiable character, was dethroned, imprisoned, and finally put to death, by his brother, John, Duke of Finland. That prince, known in history by the name of John the third, transmitted, it is true, the Swedish sceptre, to his son Sigismund. But, he having been called to the throne of Poland, and transferring his principal residence from Stockholm to Warsaw, was in turn ejected from Sweden, by his uncle, Charles, Duke of Sudermania, youngest of the sons of Gustavus Vasa.



Charles, after a short reign, was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, in whose person terminated the male line of the family of Vasa, reigning in Sweden.

There are, at this time, as I am assured, near fifteen hundred students in the university of Upsal. They are not, however, in general, young men of family and condition, as with us; but, for the most part are miserably poor, and lodge five or six together, in wretched wooden hovels, amidst dirt and penury. The professors in different branches of literature, are about twenty-two in number; the largest of whose salaries does not exceed 130*l.* or 140*l.* sterling per annum, and are in general not worth half that sum.

On our first arrival, the gentleman who accompanied me, Mr. Lindegren, who was intimately acquainted with Linnæus, sent his compliments to say, that he would do himself the honor to wait on Linnæus, if agreeable, immediately; and would introduce to him

him at the same time an English gentleman, who had been induced to visit Upsal principally from the fame of so great a man: Linnæus politely returned for answer, that he would pay us a visit in the afternoon, at three o'clock, when he should have finished his dinner. He came punctually at the hour marked, and after passing some time in conversation, conducted us to the botanical garden, where he shewed us his collection of plants, shrubs, and flowers, which are very numerous, and have been presented to him from every part of the globe. At the door he took his leave, and quitted us. This celebrated botanist is now in the sixty-ninth year of his age, having completed his sixty-eighth, on the twenty-fourth of last month.

Charles de Linné, or as he is more commonly styled, Linnæus, is of a middle size, inclining to short, which is still increased by his stooping prodigiously when he walks. His nose is long, and rather aquiline; his eyes are lively, but his mouth, from the decay

cay of his teeth, sinks in, and gives an aged air to his whole countenance. On a first view, no trace of genius seems visible in the lineaments of his face : but, on a closer inspection, there appear strong marks of intellect. Though bent with years, his constitution is robust, and he enjoys sound health. He was dressed in a tie-wig, a plain blue suit of clothes, much worn, and he was booted, as is common with the Swedes. At his button-hole hung the white cross of the order of the polar star, which was conferred on him by the late king Adolphus, who admired and honored him. By the present queen dowager he is not less distinguished. He enjoys a very easy independence, from his salary, and his pupils in the university; besides which, he is said to be possessed of a considerable fortune acquired by his profession. It is supposed that he is worth from four thousand, to five thousand pounds sterling : a great sum for a professor of a Swedish university to have accumulated ! Though the salary annexed  
to

to his professorship, does not exceed one hundred and forty pounds sterling a year; yet his income, derived from the university, may be estimated at near four hundred pounds annually. To those who reflect how seldom men of even great literary endowments attain to competence, these circumstances will not be indifferent. Linnæus may be considered as almost in a state of affluence. He has a country-house, about five miles out of Upsal, and keeps two carriages. By his wife, who is still alive, he has one son and four daughters; but I don't find that they possess any portion of their father's genius. At present he very rarely attends the botanical parties, which are made twice every week round Upsal, and are now conducted by his son, who is botanical professor.

Monsieur Linnæus has been in England, France, and Germany, but speaks no languages except the Latin and Swedish; in the former of which he converses with perfect facility. His knowledge, I am assured, is by no means universal; but confined al-  
most

most absolutely to natural history, in which it is unbounded. His faculties are as yet unimpaired, except his memory, which begins to suffer some diminution. The remark, that a man of genius has no honor in his own country, is very much verified in him. I found those persons who were intimately conversant with his life and actions, more inclined to dwell on his personal imperfections, his foibles, and his weaknesses; in particular, his love of money, and the capriciousness of his temper, than to expatiate on his astonishing talents, and extended fame. Thus it always is, where we view the object at too inconsiderable a distance, and through the medium of those failings which are inseparable from humanity. Well might the witty Rochefoucault assert, that "Admiration and acquaintance are incompatible." Time only can hold up to view preeminent merit, and assign it the rank to which it is justly entitled.

Upsal was antiently the chief residence of the kings of Sweden, and is much older than

than the present metropolis. The Slott, or castle, in which they formerly resided, and in which Christina made her abdication of the throne, stands on a hill, and has a regal appearance. The governor of Upland now inhabits it. The town is situate in a vast plain, open on all sides, and at present covered with grain: but the houses are mostly composed of wood, nor is there one public or private edifice of stone to be found in the place. Like most other seats of learning, Upsal is lonely, silent, and dull; but clean, and contains numerous gardens within its walls. There is an observatory, and a theatre: both, however, are mean. Upsal is not renowned for good cheer. The provisions, wine, and other accommodations of that nature, hold out no temptations to an Epicurean. Fruits, except the berry tribe, we cannot expect to find in the sixtieth degree of northern latitude.

We left it on Sunday morning and arrived here the same evening. In this journey of near ten days, I have almost made the complete tour of the province of  
Upland

Upland. The country is chiefly a desert, covered with shapeless stones, or with impenetrable woods, incapable of cultivation, and almost devoid of inhabitants. The quantity of land employed in tillage, does not bear the proportion of one to twenty; perhaps I might say even less, without any violation of truth. Nature has, however, made the Swedes in some degree amends for this apparent parsimony, by enriching their barren wastes with inexhaustible mines of copper, iron, and silver. The peasants find their chief occupation in the manufacture of these metals; and I have visited six or seven forges on my journey, each of which constantly employs from four hundred, to fourteen hundred workmen, only in the article of iron. Wherever there is a country-seat, you may be certain to see one of these fabrics; and no Cyclops were ever more dexterous than the Swedes, in working their materials.

I have seen them stand close to, and hammer, in their coarse frocks of linen, a bar of ore, the heat and refulgence of which were almost insupportable to me, at ten feet distance;

distance; and with the sparks of which they are covered from head to foot. I had the pleasure of viewing the whole process used to reduce the ore into iron, and I must own that it is equally curious and instructive. They first roast it in the open air, for a considerable time, after which it is thrown into a furnace; and when reduced to fusion, is poured into a mould of sand, about three yards in length. These pigs, as they are then denominated, are next put into a forge heated to a prodigious degree: they break off a large piece with pincers when red hot, and this is beat to a lesser size with hammers. It is put again into the fire, and from thence entirely finished, by being laid under an immense engine resembling a hammer, which is turned by water, and flattens the rude piece into a bar. Nothing can exceed the dexterity of the workmen who conduct this concluding part of the operation, as the eye is their sole guide, and it requires an exquisite nicety and precision. It is certainly a  
most



## 190 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

most fortunate circumstance, that Sweden abounds with these employments for her peasants; as, from the ungrateful nature of the soil, and the inclement latitude, they must otherwise perish in great numbers, of misery and famine.

Through the whole country of Upland are found lakes, and pieces of inland water, on the banks of which their palaces and villas are usually built. My late tour has been made entirely from one to another of these houses, and nothing can exceed the generous hospitality that I have every where experienced. It would even be resented, if a stranger should visit a forge, without paying his compliments to the owner, who expects that mark of his attention and respect. This custom plainly evinces how few persons travel in these parts of Europe; as, if travellers were numerous, it would be quickly laid aside, or at least restrained within narrower limits. I cannot say as much in praise of the Swedish taste or elegance, as of their benevolence and civility.

There is indeed one quality which must necessarily precede refinement among every people: I mean, neatness; a virtue which I have ever remarked in an eminent degree among the inhabitants of warm climates, where nature and necessity oblige them to extreme cleanliness. There is a profusion of dishes at the entertainments in this country, but no taste in the arrangement or disposition of them. The table groans beneath a number of covers, which are all brought in at once, and then are left to cool during a ceremonious meal of at least two hours. But, the prologue to this play is even worse. Before they sit down to dinner, the company commonly take bread and butter, which they wash down with a glass of brandy; a fashion that prevails not only among persons of condition, but, extends even to the ladies, as well as to the men. I must own that I cannot reconcile myself to a custom, which, though it doubtless originated from the extreme rigor of the climate, is only worthy of the Muscovites,

Muscovites, before the reign of their reformer Peter.

I have made it an object of my endeavours since my arrival, and during my residence in this capital, to know if there are at this time any distinguished men of genius, or persons eminent in painting, sculpture, or poetry, as I should have endeavoured to procure an introduction to their acquaintance. Two or three names have been mentioned to me, and great encomiums have been lavished on their productions; but I apprehend that the rarity, rather than the intrinsic excellence of their works, has given them some reputation in a country, where nature has been fertile of laurels, but not of bays. Many of the great names which illustrate the period of the thirty years war, under Gustavus Adolphus and Christina, are now extinct. That of Torsenson became so in 1727: but, the families of Stienboch, Piper, Lewenhaupt, and Oxenstiern, so renowned in the last, or in the present century, yet survive in their

immediate descendants; and the present court is composed of the grandchildren of those celebrated generals, who fought at Narva, at Clissau, and at Pultowa.

It is not without sentiments of gratitude and of regret, that I am now going to bid adieu to Sweden: from whence my next letter will be dated, is very uncertain; possibly from Abo, or some town of Finland, as I take the great road through that country, to Petersburg.

## LETTER IX.

Abo in Finland,

Tuesday, 21st June, 1774-

**Y**ou will see by the place from whence I date, that I have now reached the eastern side of the gulf of Bothnia. A spectacle of a singular kind detained me, nevertheless, at Stockholm, a day longer than I had intended. The scene lay in the park, about an English mile without the gates of the city, where a camp has been formed during some weeks; a spot which is finely adapted for a martial exhibition, from the nature of the ground, irregular, and full of declivities: the rising parts of it are covered with small woods of fir, and it is divided by a branch of the Meler Lake, over which is a floating bridge. The king of Sweden commanded about two regiments, mostly infantry: his youngest brother, Prince Frederic, had under him near a thousand

troops, horse and foot. They were entirely ignorant of each other's motions, his majesty only endeavouring to surround the inferior army, and the prince exerting his endeavours to effect a secure retreat. The queen dowager, with her daughter, the princess of Sweden, were present in a little open chaise, which permitted them to follow the soldiery over the field, and to be present everywhere. The king, dressed in uniform, was mounted on a cream-coloured horse, and appeared as much animated in this essay of arms, as he could have been on a day of action.

It was about five in the evening when it began. I cannot pretend to pursue the two generals, through the different manœuvres of their conduct, which passed in too rapid a succession, and were of too intricate a nature, to admit of a minute description. The result was, however, favorable to the king: his brother having neglected to seize on a post, which might have commanded a retreat in case of emergency, found his error too late; and when he would

## 196 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

have availed himself of this passage, discovered that his rival's troops were already in possession of it, having crossed the river in boats for that purpose. After having endeavoured in vain to force them from this post, he formed his infantry into a hollow square, and maintained a brisk fire on all sides, for a considerable time; but finding himself environed by a much superior body of forces, and no possibility of escape presenting itself, he delivered up his sword to the king, and his soldiers remained prisoners of war. His cavalry having however seized on a small, but most advantageous spot, unterrified by the fate of their companions, refused to surrender; and demanded permission to march off the ground, with all military honors. Their fate was not yet decided when I quitted the place, at eleven o'clock at night. It was a very elegant and gallant diversion, admirably designed to cultivate and practise the operations of a campaign; and to keep alive the knowledge of war, even in time of the most profound peace.

I left

I left Stockholm at four o'clock on the ensuing morning, which was last Friday, and reached Griselhamn, on the western shore of this gulf, about eleven at night. The intermediate country is more fertile, and better cultivated, than almost any part of Sweden which I have seen, except the province of East Gothland: but, nothing is to be procured in the post-houses on the road. Griselhamn consists only of a single inn, which is a very commodious one; and commands a beautiful, as well as extensive view, of the Bothnian Gulf. I immediately engaged a boat to carry me over to the Isle of Aland: the weather was remarkably serene and pleasant; it was still broad daylight; and the little breeze which played, was favorable. The sailors pressed me to lose no time, as the wind might change; and I was too well acquainted with the inconstancy of the element, to neglect their advice. I ordered my carriage therefore to be put into the boat, and following it myself, we set sail. Then drawing the curtain before



the chaise, and wrapping myself in my great-coat, I soon fell asleep.

When I awoke in the morning, we had performed more than two-thirds of the passage, which is forty-five English miles; and after passing close to a number of small rocks or islands, the breeze, which gradually died away as the sun rose, wafted us into a large bay, formed like a half-moon. Here I landed on the Isle of Ecaro, and found a very tolerable inn, at a few hundred paces from the beach, where I breakfasted; and then crossed the whole island, to Marby, the post on the other side. The distance is scarcely four English miles. The peasants informed me that Ecaro is about twenty-six miles in circumference, and has one large village on it named Stourby, with a single chapel. The population amounts to near six hundred souls, and the soil, though light, is by no means bad. From Marby I passed in a boat, over the narrow channel which separates Ecaro and Aland. It is not more than one mile in breadth, and

and about noon I landed at Frebbsenby, on the Isle of Aland, through which lay my road to Finland. I need not remind you, that this island has been rendered famous in modern history, by the negotiations which were carried on here, between Count Osterman and Baron Gortz, in the year 1718; which were designed to unite the two sovereigns, Peter the first, and Charles the twelfth, who had so long been at enmity. Negotiations, which in all probability would have given a new face to the affairs of Europe, if they had not been rendered abortive, by the unexpected death of the latter prince, soon after, at Fredericshall!

While I stopped to change horses at a little village called Haroldsby, the Baillif, or governor of Aland passed me, and knowing I must be a stranger, very politely accosted me. I was glad to have such an opportunity of gaining a little information relative to the island. He said, that it was about one hundred and eighty miles in circumference, and had upon it between two and three thousand inhabitants; that

o 4

they

they paid no pecuniary taxes, but were obliged to furnish a certain number of men for the defence of the kingdom; that there were only four Seigneurs, or gentlemen, resident on the island; and that vassalage was unknown, the peasants being all free in the most extensive sense of the term.

‘ There is no town,’ continued he, ‘ upon the island, though we have eight churches, or parishes. The inhabitants have always remonstrated against the founding a town, which the Swedish government have repeatedly intended. There is no game here, but we have foxes; and what is far worse, wolves, which are numerous in the woods, and some of which attain to a prodigious size. I am the chief magistrate and governor of Aland; immediately under his majesty. My residence is at Castleholm, about three miles from hence, and close to which place you must pass. It is an antient fortress, built by Berger Jarl, the viceroy who founded Stockholm, and was repaired by our celebrated Christina. It contains at present little that is worthy  
‘ a traveller’s

‘ a traveller’s attention. There is, indeed,  
‘ a room still existing, where the unhappy  
‘ king Eric the fourteenth was confined.  
‘ I have had the curiosity some few years  
‘ ago, to visit it; but the access is at this  
‘ time so ruinous, and even dangerous, that  
‘ I cannot advise you to attempt it.’ I re-  
turned him thanks for his advice, though  
I was fully determined to act in opposition  
to it; and having bid him adieu, pursued  
my journey.

Arriving in half an hour at the castle, I  
alighted under the walls: it stands in a  
beautiful situation, on the banks of a river,  
or rather an arm of the sea, as it communi-  
cates with the Baltic; and commanding an  
extensive view on every side. It was not  
till after a quarter of an hour’s search, that  
the peasant who drove the carriage, and  
who had known the castle forty years, could  
discover the passage which led to the cham-  
ber, where the king had been imprisoned;  
and it was with still greater difficulty that I  
could enter it when found. I crawled upon  
my

my hands and knees under an arch, the stones of which having fallen down in a course of years, had almost filled up the way; and after passing this narrow entrance, I had two ladders to mount, which did not appear capable of bearing much pressure. I followed, however, where my guide led the way, and entered the apartment, if such it could be called, through a trap-door. I must own that I was struck with compassion and horror, at reflecting that a sovereign had been the tenant of such a dungeon, which seems too miserable for the worst malefactor. It is composed of stone, and vaulted over head: I measured it by my paces; it was about twenty-three feet long, and twelve broad. The light is admitted by a narrow window, through a wall five feet in thickness. In one corner is a little fire-place, and in the other a cupboard hollowed in the wall. The flooring is of brick, and, as the peasant pretended to shew me, is worn away in those places where the king was used to walk.

I should

I should be ashamed to say, that all my knowledge relative to this royal captive, and the circumstances which produced his confinement, are drawn from conversation; if I could not assure you, that this is almost the only source from whence such information can here be derived, by a person ignorant of the Swedish language. Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, and Charles the XIIth, have all had their biographers, and may be purchased in every language; but it is not easy to procure, even at Stockholm, a history of the Swedish kings, either in French, or in German. I am chiefly indebted to the gentleman of whom I have just made mention, the Governor of Aland, for the little that I know relative to Eric. He was the eldest son of Gustavus Vasa, and succeeded his father in 1560. His name appears among the list of our Elizabeth's suitors; but he seems to have been ill formed by nature, for success in gallantry. Eric was immoderately addicted to the study of astrology; a weakness not confined to

to him alone, but characterizing the century in which he lived. He was deposed in 1568, by his brother, John the third; and after being removed to different prisons, of which Castleholm was one, he ended his days at Gripsholm, in Sweden; though whether by a violent, or by a natural death, is, I apprehend, more a matter of speculation and suspicion, than of absolute certainty. Every nation seems to have had its Eric. The Wenceslaus of the German empire, the Peter the third of Russia, the Alphonso the sixth of Portugal, and the Henry the fourth of Castile, are only the same sad story differently told, and varying in minute circumstances. The English have had many Erics! Our annals are more stained with royal blood, than any others of Europe. The Plantagenets almost all perished by each other's hands; and foreigners justly remark, that one hardly passes the ruin of a castle, where some one of our princes has not been imprisoned; or  
beheaded.

beheaded. But, to return from this digression.

I left Castleholm after I had gratified my curiosity, and continuing my journey, arrived at the termination of the Isle of Aland, as the sun was about to set. It was my intention to have gone on to Finland by the post route, through the small islands of Wargate, Kumlinge, Brando, and Warsala; from one to another of which there are constantly boats provided to convey travellers. Just as I was on the point of carrying this design into execution, four or five of the country people who were standing on the shore, proposed to convey me from thence straight to Abo. They said, that the distance was only about one hundred and twenty English miles; that the wind was very fair; that they had often made the passage in twelve or fourteen hours, and doubted not to do the same now; finally, that I needed not to lose a moment, as their little vessel was in readiness, and only waited my orders. I did not hesitate long, but complied with the offer,



offer, and left Aland about midnight on Saturday.

I slept, as I had done the preceding night, in my carriage; and at seven, the ensuing morning, I found myself in a narrow passage, surrounded by high rocks, and the people employed in rowing. I made no question that we were already in the river of Abo; but, was not a little chagrined to find on inquiry, that the wind had fallen away, that we were hardly thirty miles from Skorpas, the place which we had quitted, on the Isle of Aland; and that I must not flatter myself with landing in Finland that day. They added, that the whole voyage across the Gulf, lay through similar channels; that several of the small islands by which I sailed, were inhabited; and that if I pleased, they would land me on one of them, where I might procure some refreshment. To this proposition I gladly consented, and about nine o'clock I went ashore on an isle called Lappo, or Lappholm. I walked to a little hamlet, at near a mile distance from the shore;

shore: the poor peasants very cheerfully brought me some cream, and assisted in boiling my coffee. Nothing could exceed their poverty; black bread, fish, pork, and a sort of mixture which they called beer, constituting all their sustenance. The cottage, which was very wretched, had, however, round it, a little plantation of hops and rye, which shot up among bleak and naked rocks.

After having made a very comfortable breakfast on this unknown and sequestered island, I returned again to the boat. During the whole day, we pursued our voyage through a labyrinth of small rocks and isles, many of them covered with firs and aspens. Some, which had inhabitants, were green and beautiful; but far the greater number, barren and rugged, were only peopled with goats. I could have fancied myself among the Cyclades, so famous in antient story; but here were no temples sacred to Apollo, or to Juno; nor had genius and poetry conspired to render every cliff and promontory immortal. Many of  
the

## 208 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

the prospects were, however, so wonderfully picturesque and romantic, that I frequently stopped the boatmen for a minute, to gaze upon the extraordinary scene around me. Sometimes we went through channels of only twenty or thirty feet in breadth; sometimes the water opened into a considerable expanse; and often there appeared to be no avenue, or outlet on any side. I was astonished how they so exactly knew their track, in this intricate and perplexing maze, through which nothing besides long experience could have conducted them; tho' in many places marks were affixed, to direct navigators. We were near forty miles from Abo, when the sun went down, and I was once more obliged to sleep in my carriage; but we entered the river early yesterday morning, and about eight o'clock I finished my voyage.

There is very little in Abo, which has entertained me in the survey, or can amuse you by the description. It is a wretched capital, of a barbarous province. The houses  
are

are almost all of wood ; and the archiepiscopal palace, which has not even a single story, but may be called a sort of barrack, is composed of no better materials, except that it is painted red. I inquired if there was not any object in the university, meriting attention ; but they assure me that it would be regarded as a piece of ridicule, to visit it on such an errand, there being nothing within it's walls except a very small library, and a few philosophical instruments. The number of students amounts to between three and four hundred, with sixteen or seventeen professors.

I waited on the governor soon after my arrival, who received me with great civility : he has procured me horses on the road from hence to Helsingfors, the first town in my way to St. Petersburg, and which is one hundred and twenty miles distant. As the weather during the day is at present very hot, I shall delay my departure till the evening. Abo is not destitute of trade, the principal articles of which are grain and

P

salt.

salt. There is likewise a very large sugar refinery here. I went to see the castle, which was antiently the residence of the dukes of Finland. I believe that the last prince who inhabited it as such, was John, second son of Gustavus Vasa; to whom his father assigned this province, which he held in sovereignty, though as a fief of the crown of Sweden. The castle, which stands on a point of land, below the city of Abo, just where the river forms an angle, is now in ruins. The principal apartments are converted into granaries: the chapel only remains entire, and is still appropriated to divine worship. From the tower of the cathedral of Abo, I had a very extensive view of the country, which is flat on every side. There is at this time a great annual fair held here, and I have amused myself for this hour past, in looking from the window of my apartment, at a crowd of three or four thousand Finland peasants, who are collected together, and form a curious *coup d'œil* in their country dresses. Adieu! I shall write as I continue my journey.

Wybourg in Carelia,  
Wednesday, 29th June, 1774.

I WAS near forty-eight hours in driving from Abo to Helsingfors, during which time I never stopped, except to change horses. Inns there were, indeed, none between the two places. Of course, I dined and slept in the carriage, breakfasting each morning at the post-house. I have not experienced more intense heat even in Portugal, than I have here found in the sixty-second degree of northern latitude; the sun scarcely disappearing at this season, for more than three hours; and the light being such at midnight, as to allow me to write, or to distinguish objects accurately, at several miles distance. In various places I passed through woods which were in flames, as the peasants are accustomed to set fire to the firs, in order to fructify the soil with the ashes. I could have fancied myself among the wilds of America. Yet, Finland is not so very un-  
P 2 fertile.

fertile or uncultivated a province, as I had been taught to expect. I saw no part of Sweden, except East Gothland, which is so free from those vast stones, that nature in her anger scattered over these kingdoms; nor any, where the soil is apparently more fertile, or the country better peopled. The peasants speak a barbarous jargon, equally unintelligible to a Swede or a Russian; but, in the towns, the former language is generally used, and generally understood.

I staid at Helsingfors a day, more to recover my past fatigue, than from the desire of seeing an immense fortress, built as a barrier against the Russians, and in which there is at this time stationed a garrison of seven thousand men. It is not yet entirely completed; but as more than two-thirds of the soldiery are constantly at work on the fortifications, it is to be presumed that it will be in full readiness for the next rupture between these rival nations.— This fortress, denominated Sweia Borga, stands on an island, or rather a rock, at the  
entrance

entrance of the port of Helsingfors. Tho' it blew very fresh, I went off to it in a boat. The Commandant, Colonel Trolle, in the absence of Count Sparre, the governor, permitted me to visit the works, accompanied by an officer. As far as art can render it impregnable, no efforts seem to have been omitted. It is, indeed, the last bulwark of Sweden, to check the augmenting power of the Russians on this frontier; where, within the last sixty or seventy years, Peter the great and his successors have made such inroads; and on which they may yet make new attacks. Frederic, king of Sweden, began the construction of the fortress in 1751, only a short time before his decease; and it has been prosecuted with more or less vigor, ever since.

Quitting Helsingfors, I continued my journey towards Borgo, capital of the province of Nyland. The road lay frequently through deep woods, abounding in wild strawberries, which the peasants



brought me. It was about a quarter past ten o'clock, on the evening of the 24th of June, when I entered Borgo, the sun then shining bright above the horizon. Borgo is a tolerable town, pleasingly situated on a hill, at the foot of which runs a small river. The university, or as they more modestly denominate it, the Gymnasium, is built of stone. I visited this seat of letters, which contains only about sixty students, and seven professors, within its walls. In the hall, or convocation-chamber, I found the professors all assembled, and one of them had the goodness to conduct me over the building. It was constructed by the late king Adolphus, the former Gymnasium having been completely demolished by the Russians: a fate which has likewise more than once attended the town of Borgo; its situation, near the frontiers, exposing it to the ravages of war.

I reached Louisa, in the afternoon of the 25th; a town which was likewise founded, in 1757, by the late king; who, whatever  
were

were the defects of his character, as a sovereign of vigor or decision, seems to have extended the most vigilant attention to this vulnerable portion of the Swedish dominions. Louisa was so called after the present queen dowager ; like Caieta, in antiquity, after the nurse of Eneas. It is difficult to depicture the aspect of the country in which Louisa stands. For the space of at least a league before I arrived there, and for more than two leagues after I quitted it, the earth may almost be said to have disappeared from my view ; so completely was it covered with stones, or rather rocks : for, many of them, from their magnitude, may well merit that appellation. It seems as if they had fallen from the sky ; and Ovid, had he been acquainted with this portion of the globe, might have here placed the “ *Campi Phlegræi*,” where Jupiter overcame the Titans. The road, compelled to respect these formidable impediments, performs a thousand tortuous evolutions, in order to avoid them, and serpentine beautifully for many miles. Nei-

ther cultivation, nor population, can possibly exist amongst such a wilderness of stones. Yet, Louisa is built in the very centre of this desert ; and I not only found there a very tolerable inn ; but, was charged no more than four copper dollars, or one shilling English money, for an excellent dinner.

It was nearly midnight, when I arrived on the bank of the river Kymen, which here divides the empire of Russia from the dominions of Sweden. The stream is above two hundred feet broad, and across it is a wooden bridge, one half of which is constantly repaired by the one, and the other half by the other nation. I was stopped by the guards on either side, and underwent a very minute search before I was permitted to proceed. A league beyond this boundary, my carriage broke down in a deep wood, more than two English miles from any cottage : it was about four in the morning when the accident happened ; and as the case was urgent, I was compelled to leave the postillion to guard the chaise, while I walked  
on

on with my servant, to the next Russian hamlet. We addressed ourselves to the first peasant that we met, who was fortunately a Swede by birth, and understood the language. After much entreaty, I prevailed on him to furnish me with a wheel from his own little cart, as my carriage could not have been repaired in many hours, and the people even declared it incurable, from it's long services, and numerous ailments. I thought myself very happy to procure this temporary aid, and by the help of it I arrived at Kupis, the first post in Russian Finland.

The mistress of the inn at Kupis, not only set before me strawberries and cream, but persisted in refusing to accept of any compensation for her hospitality. Having refitted the carriage, I proceeded, and began soon to become sensible that I had quitted the dominions of Gustavus, for those of Catherine. At Hogfors, which is distant only about twenty-four miles from the bank of the Kymen, I entered the province of Carelia. Here, the men who surrounded

the carriage while I stopped to change horses, could not either speak, or understand, a word of Swedish. The women were differently habited, evidently of another race; and the manners of both sexes were more obsequious than I had found them in Finland, or in Sweden. I reached Fredericshamm about six, the same evening, where this national contrast was still more complete. It is the first Russian town and garrison. The features, the complexion, the dress of the inhabitants were all Muscovite; and a thousand leagues of distance could not have made a more striking alteration. The same remark is exactly true in crossing the Pyrenees, from French, into Spanish, Navarre; and plainly evinces how strongly the character of the individuals which compose society, is tinged and formed by the government, policy, and religion of the nation.

The plan of Fredericshamm is elegant, and realizes in miniature that commonly attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, after the fire of London, in 1666; all the streets going  
off

off like Radii from a centre, in which is built a handsome Hotel-de-ville. But, the houses are very mean, being composed only of a single floor; and the streets, which are unpaved, have only a loose, deep sand, in which the passenger sinks up to the ankle, at every step. The unaffected politeness and hospitality with which I was received at Fredericshamm by General Sestikoff, to whom, as governor of the city, I paid my compliments on my arrival, detained me however here a day. He spoke no language except the Russian: but his lady conversed with perfect ease in French. The general insisted on my dining with him, and was just going to carry me to view the camp, which is formed about a league from Fredericshamm, where the prince of Issembourg commands; when, at the moment that we were stepping into the carriage, the prince arrived from camp. General Sestikoff introduced me to him. I mention his name, chiefly with a view to give you a picture of this country, as he described it to me himself. " These provinces were,

were, as you know," said he, "conquered from Frederic, king of Sweden, by the late empress Elizabeth, little more than thirty years ago. On the cession of them to her, and the evacuation of Carelia by the Swedes, the best estates were bought by peasants, priests, and mechanics, for the smallest trifles. It is unpeopled, uncultivated, and unfertile. I have myself purchased above forty English miles of land, since my arrival, for only 2,000\* rubles." The pine-barrens on the Ohio, or on the Mississippi, would, I believe, fetch a better price.

The prince of Issembourg, who is a German, and has been only about four years in the Russian service, is a lieutenant colonel. Having just obtained leave of absence, he was about to set out for Petersburg; and finding that I was on my way to that capital, he obligingly requested me to accompany him. But, the difficulty of procuring horses for two carriages, at the post-houses on the road, added to my wish of passing a day at this place, compelled me to decline

\* About 400l. sterling.

the

the prince's proposal. We have, however, engaged to meet at the same Hotel at Petersburg. I left Fredericshamm on Monday evening, and after travelling twenty-six hours, arrived here yesterday, before nine o'clock. It was impossible not to recollect the prince's words, as I drove from Fredericshamm to this city, the whole intermediate country being the most savage, rocky, and inhospitable desert that you can conceive. From the gates of one place to the entrance of the other, I saw scarcely any other signs of population, than at the little hamlets where I stopped to change horses. Yet, has this barren frontier of the Swedish and Russian territory been as obstinately disputed, and caused the effusion of as much blood, as the most plentiful or happy regions of the earth.

The entrance into Wybourg, across the river, over two long wooden bridges, is striking; and I have seen no place since leaving Stockholm, where there seems so much the face of industry and commerce as here. It

is



## 222 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

is a fortified city, and during the wars between Charles and Peter, when it belonged to the former of those princes, was reputed strong, the Russians having been more than once forced to raise the siege ; but, at present the fortifications appear to be very ruinous : a circumstance which indicates the little apprehensions entertained by the Russian government on this quarter. I hope to reach St. Petersburgh to-morrow, though in all probability late, as the distance is near one hundred and ten English miles. I shall dispatch this letter as soon as I get there.

## LETTER X.

St. Petersburg,  
Monday, 11th July, 1774.

It is a dreary and desolate tract of country, from Wybourg to this city, offering few objects amusing to the eye, or informing to the mind. In many parts, where the soil is marshy, the roads are constructed of firs, felled and laid close to each other. The havock which roads so composed, must necessarily make on wheels and axletrees, may be easily imagined. Nor are they more calculated for repose, as I experienced. Within the last twenty miles of St. Petersburg, deep sands commence: an exchange which, though unfavorable to expedition, is nevertheless in many respects preferable to the former description of roads. After being near twenty-eight hours in the carriage, I arrived on the banks of the Neva, soon after midnight, on the 30th of June, and entered the metropolis

polis of the Russian empire, over a bridge of vast length raised on pontoons. Though darkness is unknown at this season, yet sleep had so totally taken possession of the inhabitants, that I wandered at least an hour in the streets, before I could find the Hotel to which the prince of Issembourg had directed me. The postillion, if such he could be called, who drove me the last stage, into St. Petersburg, was altogether ignorant: at length, a baker who was heating his oven, and whose door stood open, kindly instructed us. By his aid I got, about two o'clock in the morning, to my present quarters, at Madame de Muth's, on one of the canals called the Moika, from whence I now write.

You must not, however, as yet expect any description of this great capital, which, though only a creation of the present century, has already grown to a vast size, containing, as it is impossible not to perceive, infinitely higher matter of entertainment and instruction, than either of those from whence I am lately come. I am struck with a pleasing astonishment, while I  
wander

wander among havens, streets, and public buildings, which have risen, as by enchantment, within the memory of men still alive; and have converted the marshy islands of the Neva, into one of the most magnificent cities of the earth. The imagination, aided by so many visible objects, rises to the founder, and beholds in idea the tutelary genius of Peter, yet hovering over the child of his own production; or viewing with a parent's fondness, it's rising palaces and temples. The names on which antient story dwells with so much predilection, sink on a comparison with this immortal man; and the fabulous legislators of Greece and Egypt, who appear to us so great through the medium of Herodotus and Plutarch, never presumed to attempt the mighty transformation which the Czar completed. The followers of Cadmus, of Theseus, and of Romulus, were at least animated with the same ardor as their leader: but, the Muscovites, wrapt in the most profound barbarism, almost secluded by their illiberal prejudices,

Q

judices, from an intercourse with European nations; and equally the slaves of superstition, as they were of long prescription; were forcibly torn from this night of ignorance, and compelled to accept of knowledge, of refinement, and of civilization. I must own that I never consider this so recent, and so extraordinary an event, without being hurried away by an enthusiasm that I cannot avoid feeling; and from which I now return, to give you some imperfect description of the festivities, to which I have already been a witness during my stay here, and from which I am only just returned.

I had the pleasure to accompany the English minister, Sir Robert Gunning, last Saturday, to the palace of Peterhoff, where the empress at present resides. The distance from St. Petersburg, is about sixteen miles, and the road on each side is covered with country-seats of the nobility. It was the anniversary of her majesty's accession, when there is generally a very brilliant court.

As

As we arrived early, I had an opportunity of viewing the gardens, before her majesty's appearance. They are of a great compass, extending along the shore of the gulf of Finland, and washed by it's waters. In the midst of them stands the palace itself, situate on an eminence, and commanding a fine view. It was begun by Peter the first, but has been enlarged and improved by the empresses, his successors. In the front extends a canal of some hundred yards in length, joining the gulf; from which three *jets-d'eau* are supplied, which play, not like those of Versailles, only on great festivals, but constantly, as far as the climate permits, throughout the year.

The apartments of Peterhoff are very splendid; but my attention was chiefly attracted by the drawing-room, where hung five matchless portraits of the sovereigns of Russia. They are all length pieces: Peter himself is the subject of the first; and opposite to him appears the Livonian villager Catherine, whom he raised from a cottage to sovereignty. I stood for some

moments under this painting, in silent admiration of the woman, who had passed from so humble a station, to an imperial diadem, of which her genius, her fidelity, and her virtue, made her worthy. She is drawn by the painter, as in middle life; her eyes and hair black, her countenance open, smiling, and ingratiating; her person not exceeding the middle size. The empresses Anne, and Elizabeth, fill their respective places in this apartment, but did not long detain me from a portrait of the reigning sovereign, Catherine the second, which is of a singular kind. She is habited in the Russian uniform, booted, and sits astride on a white horse. In her hat is fixed the oaken bough, which she wore at the memorable revolution that placed her on the throne, and which was likewise assumed by all her adherents. Her long hair floats in disorder down her back; and the flushing produced in her face, by the natural effect of the heat and fatigue that she had undergone, is finely designed. It is, I am assured, a faithful and exact resemblance

of her dress and person, as she appeared twelve years ago, when she marched to Peterhoff, and seized the throne of Russia.

While my eyes were rivetted to this picture, and my thoughts employed on the melancholy catastrophe of the unhappy emperor which so soon followed, the empress's entrance into the apartment was announced. She was preceded by a long train of noblemen and gentlemen. I felt a pleasure, corrected with awe, as I gazed on this extraordinary woman, whose vigor and policy, without any right of blood, has seated, and maintains her, in the throne of the Czars. Though she is now become rather corpulent, there is a dignity, tempered with graciousness, in her deportment and manner, which strikingly impresses. She was habited in a deep blue silk, with gold stripes, and her hair ornamented with diamonds. After the foreign ministers had paid her the customary compliments on this day, I had the honor to be presented, and to kiss her hand. The grand duke and duchess



of Russia followed the empress, who continued scarce a minute in the circle, but sat down at the card-table.

I followed the crowd, to the other end of the apartment, where a sovereign of a different kind, and perhaps not less despotic or unlimited in her empire, had drawn round her another circle of votaries, by the magic of her voice ; while she received a homage from her personal accomplishments, perhaps more flattering than that which is paid to greatness, because it is more an offering of the heart. This person was no other than the celebrated Gabrieli, whom Brydone saw at Palermo, and whom I was destined to meet at Petersburg : she had just begun an air, and I listened in deep attention for some minutes that it lasted. When she had finished, I continued to look at her, till Count Rzewusky, a young Polish nobleman, came up to me, and asked me if I wished to be introduced to her. I assured him, that he could not confer a greater obligation on me. She rose up with politeness, on the Count's introducing

introducing me to her, as an English gentleman who was lately arrived in Russia; and I did not lose the opportunity to enter into conversation with her. She was perfectly free and unreserved in her replies, to a number of questions which I ventured to put to her. She said, that, though used to the warmer climates of Italy and Sicily, her constitution was not impaired or injured by the severity of a Russian winter: that the empress was a bounteous mistress, and she had no reason to be dissatisfied with her present situation; but that, notwithstanding, she had a passionate desire to visit England; a journey which she had been many times on the point of executing, but, had never yet accomplished. I assured her how happy the English nation would be to see among them a woman of such preeminent merit; and how generous, as well as flattering, their patronage was, to all the performers in the fine arts. I mentioned Mademoiselle Heinel to her, as a proof of the justice of my assertion; and told her that the name of *La belle Gabrieli* was already

too well known among us, not to ensure her the most welcome reception. I seized this moment to ask her, if she had never heard of, or known Mr. Brydone, who was at Palermo a very few years since, and who had given us a description of her person and voice, as far as they admitted of it. She said, that she had not the pleasure to know him, or rather, that she did not recollect to have heard his name; but, mentioned Sir William Hamilton, and Lord Cowper, as persons with whom she was well acquainted.

Our conversation was most agreeably interrupted, by her standing up to sing. I must own, that I never heard any voice so perfectly sweet, melting, and absolute in it's command over the soul: nor can any thing exceed the negligent carelessness apparent in her whole manner, while employed in this occupation, as if she despised the appearance of exertion, or of any labor to please. I am assured, however, that her vocal powers are somewhat impaired since her arrival here, and that she does not possess that  
compass

compass or extent at present, which she had, two years ago. The character of caprice, which she maintained in the southern parts of Europe, she has not lost here, as they universally ascribe this quality to her in the highest degree. Gabrieli was resident at Milan, when the empress sent to engage her to sing in the court of Petersburg. The price which she demanded was seven thousand rubles, or about fifteen hundred pounds sterling a year, besides a house and carriage; nor would she relax in the least article of this sum. They remonstrated with her, on the unreasonable magnitude of so enormous a salary; and in order to induce her to diminish her demands, they informed her, that a Russian Field Marshal received no higher appointments. "If that be the case," said she, "I would advise her majesty to make one of her Marshals sing." Her person, strictly considered in itself, is by no means irresistible: she does not exceed, if she reaches, the middle size; her features are small, and her eyes blue: but  
her

her neck is exquisitely white; and as her dress usually discloses more, than can strictly be confined to the definition of that part of the human body, it cannot be gazed on with impunity. Her attractions have not failed to procure her many admirers during her stay here, and she has had, it is said, her favored Muscovite, as well as her Sicilian, lover. Though her salary is so ample, it is only on peculiar occasions, and on great festivals, that she usually sings; and it is possible that I may not hear her again while I stay in this capital.

The court broke up between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and I returned to Petersburgh; though I went down to Peterhoff yesterday again, when there was a masquerade, and the gardens were illuminated. The former of these diversions is rather a *bal paré en domino*, as there are very few, or no fancy dresses; nor is any character supported: but the spectacle was greatly enlivened by a number of masques, habited in the costume of the different provinces

vinces of the Russian empire, than which it is difficult to imagine any thing more curious and grotesque. Every person, without distinction, is admitted on this occasion, and there were not less than four or five thousand persons present. Her majesty was dressed in a blue domino, and played at cards during most of the night. The illuminations in the gardens, far surpassed any that I have ever seen elsewhere. In these, as also in fireworks of every kind, I am assured that the Russians excel any nation of Europe. Two prodigious Arcades of fire extended in front of the palace: the canal, which reaches to the gulf of Finland, was illuminated on both sides; and the view was terminated by a rock, lighted in the inside, which had a beautiful effect. From either side of the canal, went off long arched walks illuminated; and beyond these, in the woods, were hung festoons of lamps differently coloured. All the jets-d'eau played. Artificial cascades, where the water tumbled from one declivity to another, and under each

each of which, lights were very artfully disposed, amused and surprised the spectator at the same time. Besides these, there were summer-houses, pyramids, and temples of flame: beyond all, appeared the imperial yachts on the water, decorated with the same brilliant and dazzling ornaments.

Nothing could be better calculated to produce that giddy and tumultuous feeling of mingled wonder and delight, which, though it arises neither from the understanding, nor from the heart, has yet a most powerful influence over both. The senses alone are captivated, and leave neither time nor capacity to reason on the nature of the entertainment which they proffer, but whirl us away with an impetuosity that is not to be resisted. If we add to all these circumstances, the powers of music, dancing, and wanton hours, together with the presence of a multitude of both sexes, habited in a dress that levels all distinction, and is designed for that purpose; a temper must be uncommonly misanthropical, which does not catch

catch some spark of mirth and gaiety at such an exhibition. This impression, however, as it is violent, and produced from temporary causes, soon subsides, and expires with the oil and the taper which gave it birth. It is a kind of short intoxication, the delirium of a few hours, when reason resigns her command, and leaves us to the guidance of any sense which happens to predominate; nor, on a retrospect, does it appear any other than a gay vision, which is passed, before we had well contemplated it.

There is so little obscurity at this season of the year, (for there is no darkness,) that if the night had not been very cloudy, the illuminations could not have produced their full effect. This favorable circumstance, however, superadded to the black vapor that rose from such a multitude of lamps, and hung over the gardens, caused a degree of gloom, which, under the shelter of the woods, approached nearly to darkness for about two hours, from eleven, till one in the morning: but, before three, the daylight



light burst in upon the splendor of this scene, which required the canopy of night to give it any lustre. That lassitude and bodily fatigue, which I had not felt before, now reminded me of the necessity of repose. The lamps were expiring on every side: the company began to disperse, and to quit the place; each moment diminished the magic which had charmed so much, and I was glad to leave it, before it totally left me. Between four and five I got into my carriage, and returned to St. Petersburg. As magnificent as this illumination appeared to me, the Russians assert that it is not to be compared with those, which the empress caused to be exhibited about two years ago, when the prince royal of Prussia was here. Her majesty went a considerable distance from the capital to meet him, their interview being so contrived, that it should take place about the dusk of the evening. Catherine and the prince then returned back to the city, together, along a road illuminated in the most splendid manner that it is possible

sible to conceive. The fireworks and masquerades given, were in the same taste; and not any thing was omitted which sovereign power could produce, in order to please and astonish. If the king of Sweden's intended visit to St. Petersburg should take place, which is expected, these superb spectacles will be renewed.

There is not only a magnificence and pomp in this court, which far exceed any that I have beheld elsewhere, but, every thing is on a vast and colossal scale, resembling that of the empire itself. The public buildings, churches, monasteries, and private palaces of the nobility, are of an immense size, and seem as if designed for creatures of a superior height and dimensions to man; to "a puny insect shivering at the breeze!"

The statue and pedestal of Peter the Great, which are soon to be erected, will be of the same enormous or gigantic proportions, and may almost rank with the Sphynxes and pyramids of ancient Egypt.

At

At Moscow, I am told, this style is yet more common, and more universal. The palace which the present empress has there begun, is designed to be two or three English miles in circumference; and in the mean time they have erected a temporary palace of brick, for her reception. The city of Moscow itself is described to me as an immense aggregate of villages, where the Muscovite lords commonly go fifty and sixty versts, which are at least forty of our miles, in order to make visits to each other. There is a sort of savage and barbarous grandeur in this Scythian taste, which never appears in the edifices and productions of Athenian sculpture, or architecture. I know it may be said, that the difference of extent and greatness between the little republic of Attica, and the wide empire of Russia, may give rise to a different standard of national beauty and elegance: but this territorial difference is not sufficient to alter the original and invariable criterion of nature, which is, or ought to be the same in every country.

As

As the festivities are now finished at court, I shall have time to visit the principal objects of curiosity and entertainment in this city, and you may expect in my next letter some account of them. My intention of going to Moscow, I have at length, though very reluctantly, laid aside, on account of the advanced season; it being too long and disagreeable a journey to undertake by land, through Livonia, Courland, Prussia, and Germany, after the beginning of September, when the autumnal rains make the roads in some of these countries almost impassable. The weather is at present insufferably hot, greatly exceeding the degree of heat which you ever experience in England.

## LETTER XI.

St. Petersburg,  
Friday, 15th July, 1774.

**T**HE veneration of the Russians for their hero and legislator Peter, approaches, as you will naturally imagine, to idolatry ; and increases, as they recede from the time in which he personally flourished. The impartial and discerning few, who can divest themselves of prejudice, and who view objects, free from the blaze which usually dazzles and deludes the multitude ; have, however, regarded his character and conduct with different eyes, and have even made those actions on which his fame is eminently built, the subject of criticism, if not of censure. Fifty years, which have now nearly elapsed since his death, have withdrawn the veil in some degree, from before the political sanctuary ; and experience of the beneficial, or pernicious nature of his regulations, has

has affixed to them the stamp of excellence, or of error. So imperfect and short-sighted is man, so limited is the sphere of human foresight, that those causes which seem at a first view replete with blessings, often contain a latent poison; which, when matured by time, can destroy these expected consequences, and force us to condemn, on a retrospect, that which we at first admired or applauded. Voltaire, who, through all his historic writings, is more commonly led by genius and fancy, than by a strict regard to truth and impartiality, has conducted not a little to complete the general delusion, and to invest his hero, Peter, with a false or mistaken splendor. There are only three grand points of light, in which we can regard him; as the *reformer*, the *sovereign*, and the *legislator*, of his country. There are persons here who assert, that he only succeeded partially even in the first of these; I mean, the civilization of Muscovy, to the completion of which he sacrificed the duties of the other two, or else

he evidently mistook them. Hear their arguments, and decide for yourself.

‘ The Muscovites were no doubt,’ say they, ‘ at the commencement of the present century, wrapt in deep and total ignorance ; they had little, or no communication, with the European nations, whom they disliked and despised. The Czar, it is true, broke down this barrier ; he forced upon them arts and refinements, of which they never before had a conception ; he obliged them to adopt a different habit, and different manners :—but, all this change was external ; and though it has destroyed that rude originality of character, which marked them heretofore, has not given them any thing valuable or ennobling in it’s stead. Far the greater number of the Russian Boyars, or nobles, have never seen the present court, or capital. They live on their own estates about Moscow, totally regardless of the reigning prince ; as well as little affected by, or attentive to, regulations made at the distance

‘ distance of four or five hundred miles,  
‘ and imperfectly carried into execution.’

‘ But, whatever judgment we form rela-  
‘ tive to their *civilization*, it is impossible  
‘ not to pronounce Peter’s conduct as a  
‘ *sovereign*, pernicious, mistaken, and in-  
‘ judicious. The vast dominions of Mus-  
‘ covy, which extend to the northern fron-  
‘ tier of China, Persia, and Turkey, render  
‘ the Russian empire more properly a mem-  
‘ ber of *Asia*, than of *Europe*. The me-  
‘ tropolis of this immense tract of country;  
‘ even before it embraced Siberia and  
‘ Kamschatka, was very wisely established  
‘ by our ancestors, at Moscow; which city,  
‘ from it’s internal situation, enabled the  
‘ government to extend it’s authority in  
‘ some degree, over the most remote pro-  
‘ vinces; as well as to restrain by it’s pre-  
‘ sence and vicinity, the many wandering  
‘ and ferocious tribes which compose the  
‘ Russian Empire: tribes, whom nothing  
‘ except the immediate and visible hand of  
‘ despotic power, can ever reduce within alle-



' giance and subjection ! But, all these im-  
 ' portant considerations were overlooked  
 ' by the Czar, who, inflamed with desire  
 ' to become an *European* sovereign, re-  
 ' signed all his natural importance and  
 ' weight, as an *Asiatic* one, in order to pos-  
 ' sess himself of two or three barren pro-  
 ' vinces of Sweden ; and afterwards wasted  
 ' his life amid intrigues and battles, to main-  
 ' tain himself in his acquisitions. His esta-  
 ' blishment of the present capital, in the ex-  
 ' treme corner of the empire, on the banks  
 ' of the gulf of Finland, in a morass to  
 ' which nature has denied every advan-  
 ' tage, and in a most inclement latitude,  
 ' was the effect of this system of politics.  
 ' If he had only made commerce the object  
 ' of his care, when he founded this city, he  
 ' would doubtless have acted wisely ; since  
 ' his people might then have reaped the  
 ' advantages of a connection with *Europe*,  
 ' and yet have maintained their rank in the  
 ' scale of *Asia*. But, the removal of the  
 ' court, of the seat of government, and of  
 ' the

‘ the permanent residence of the sovereign  
‘ to St. Petersburg, have been productive  
‘ of innumerable evils.’

‘ As the father of his family, and the *Leg-*  
‘ *islator* of his people, to whom their happi-  
‘ ness should have been ever dear, and which  
‘ is the last character in which we must  
‘ consider the Czar ; what can we say ? The  
‘ multitudes who fell a sacrifice to the erec-  
‘ tion of his new capital, from the unwhole-  
‘ some and noxious vapours of the marshy  
‘ islands on which it is situate ; and the un-  
‘ limited severity, perhaps cruelty, practised  
‘ to introduce or to enforce his regulations  
‘ among his subjects ; rather make a mind  
‘ of benevolence and humanity, wish to draw  
‘ a veil over the unhappy necessity, urged  
‘ to apologize for this branch of his public  
‘ conduct. Even the death of the unfor-  
‘ tunate Czarowitz, Alexis ; a catastrophe  
‘ from which nature recoils, and which it  
‘ is not possible to contemplate without  
‘ something like horror, must be traced  
‘ to the same source. In this act, by what-

‘ ever name we denominate it, Peter the  
 ‘ first of Russia, and Philip the second of  
 ‘ Spain, bear too close a resemblance.’

‘ Notwithstanding, however, all these di-  
 ‘ minutions of his glory, it must still be  
 ‘ avowed that he was a great prince; and that  
 ‘ his errors were such, as, had he enjoyed  
 ‘ a longer life, and of consequence a more  
 ‘ extensive experience, he himself would  
 ‘ probably have amended. If Peter could  
 ‘ have insured to himself immortality, such  
 ‘ was his wisdom and discernment, that he  
 ‘ would have corrected his own mistakes,  
 ‘ and have risen upon his very faults; but  
 ‘ the reverse has unhappily been the case.  
 ‘ His successors, who knew not how to se-  
 ‘ parate the wise, from the unwise parts of  
 ‘ his administration, have prosecuted to  
 ‘ their utmost extent his errors, and have  
 ‘ blindly adhered to all his intentions, from  
 ‘ servile reverence to his memory. The spirit  
 ‘ of the Czar survived in some degree, for a  
 ‘ moment, under Catherine the first, his wi-  
 ‘ dow; but her reign was very short: it was  
 ‘ succeeded

‘ succeeded by the minority of Peter the  
‘ second ; and so far have the Muscovites  
‘ been from an advancement in real great-  
‘ ness since that time, that the year 1730,  
‘ when Peter the second died, may be fixed  
‘ upon as the period, from which their affairs  
‘ have returned in a contrary direction.’

‘ Under the Empress Anne, it is true,  
‘ this decay was not so apparent. While  
‘ she extended her victorious arms towards  
‘ the Turkish frontiers, she governed the  
‘ Russians at home by terror, and held the  
‘ Knout constantly in her hand. Elizabeth,  
‘ her successor, adopting an opposite policy,  
‘ relaxed the reins of government; and the  
‘ indulgence which she allowed to herself,  
‘ she extended to her subjects. She made  
‘ a vow not to shed any blood by the exe-  
‘ cutioner’s hand during her reign, and she  
‘ observed it; but she needlessly engaged  
‘ in the late general war against Prussia,  
‘ and sacrificed thousands during it’s con-  
‘ tinuance. The reigning empress is mild,  
‘ humane, of an elevated mind, and pas-  
‘ sionately anxious to promote the hap-  
‘ piness

‘ piness of her subjects ; but, the peculiar  
 ‘ circumstances which seated her on the  
 ‘ throne, fetter her conduct, and deprive  
 ‘ her, in a great measure, of the power to  
 ‘ act in conformity with the dictates of her  
 ‘ own judgment. We cannot, therefore,  
 ‘ hope for any such return to the true prin-  
 ‘ ciples of Russian policy, as the real  
 ‘ greatness and felicity of the empire dic-  
 ‘ tate.’

After having thus stated impartially the arguments used to shew that Peter mistook, or sacrificed, his own, and the interests of his subjects, I am far nevertheless from admitting that they carry complete conviction to my mind. Nor will it, I presume, be denied, that though Russia, from it's local position on the globe, is strictly more a member of Asia, than of Europe ; yet, nevertheless, that the superiority of the nations and inhabitants of the latter portion of the earth, in arts, commerce, and civilization, must justly have excited in the Czar, a desire to become, at all events, a member of their community. In order to effect this leading  
 object,

object, there was no other way than by opening a passage to the Baltic, and by fixing there his new capital. Muscovy, when Peter ascended the throne, touched on no sea, except the Caspian. Charles the twelfth, who possessed the provinces of Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia, which completely invest the head of the Gulf of Finland, stood in his road to the Baltic. But, the errors, or rather the infatuation and insanity of the Swedish prince, facilitated, and finally enabled his antagonist to wrest from Sweden those precious possessions. In order to retain them, Peter doubtless felt that he must in person guard them; and of course must transfer the seat of his empire from Moscow to the Neva.

That in so doing, he sacrificed every other interest, to that of making himself an European prince, is indisputable. Those who think that civilization is not essential to national greatness or felicity; those who think it may be too dearly purchased; will probably condemn the Czar. While, on the other hand, all who estimate man, not  
by

by his physical powers, or extent of nominal sway, but by his moral preeminence, and intellectual rank, must at least admire, if they do not always approve, the policy of Peter. No conquests which he could effect to the east, or to the south ; no acquisitions of territory on the Black, or on the Caspian seas, could bring him into contact with civilized nations. He therefore turned to the Baltic, as his only resource ; and from necessity, not preference, founded Petersburg on the extreme frontier of his vast dominions.

I know that you will be surprised at a picture, so different from those usually drawn of this great empire, which we regard every day as not only more an object of political terror and watchfulness ; but, from whose arms Europe has even been taught to dread, at some future period, another universal monarchy. It must, however, be remembered, that the lights by which we judge, are very few, and very fallacious ; nor are we acquainted with those secret internal causes, moral, as well as political, which

which operate most powerfully ; and which will probably ever prevent this nation from the attainment of any dangerous superiority over it's neighbours.—I have, however, been led much farther than I at first intended, by these reflections ; and shall most gladly quit a train of speculation, where I may at once delude, and be deluded, to return to incidents and feelings more adapted to my comprehension, and more interesting to my heart.

One of the noblest monuments of the gratitude and veneration universally paid to Peter the first, is that which her present majesty has ordered to be erected. It is an equestrian statue, and has been for some years past, under the hands of Monsieur Falconette. I was introduced to this great statuary, only a few days ago, and had the pleasure to see the model, which is already completed. In this production he appears to have united the greatest simplicity, with the truest sublimity of conception. No other statue, whether antient or modern, suggested



suggested to him the design, which is singular in its kind, and is admirably adapted to express the character of the *man*, as well as of the *nation* over which he reigned. Instead of a pedestal adorned with inscriptions, or surrounded by slaves, he appears mounted on a rock or stone of a prodigious size, up the ascent of which the horse labors, and appears to have nearly reached its summit. This attitude has given the sculptor room to exert great anatomical beauty and skill, in the muscles of the horse's thighs and hams, on which the whole weight of his body is necessarily sustained.

The Czar's figure is full of fire and spirit: he sits on a bear's skin, and is clad in a simple habit, not characteristic of any particular country, but such as may be worn, without violation of propriety, by an inhabitant of any country. His eye is directed to some apparently distant object, designed to be the citadel of St. Petersburg; and on his features are most strongly impressed the sentiment of "deliberation and public care."

care :• his left hand holds the bridle, and his right is extended, as the artist himself expressed it, *en pere, et en maitre*. Under the figure, on the rock, is engraven this inscription : PETRO PRIMO, CATHERINA SECUNDA POSUIT, 177 . How beautifully and pathetically these five words contrast, with the tedious and elaborate panegyrics composed for Louis the fourteenth and fifteenth, of which Paris affords such disgusting specimens, I need not say. The laconic sublimity of this inscription, is more forcible in compelling the spectator to recollect the merits of the two sovereigns whom it commemorates, than perhaps the most eloquent composition of classic taste or genius could have effected.

“I have endeavored,” said Monsieur Falconnette, “while I worked on this model, “to catch, as far as possible, the genuine “feelings of the Muscovite legislator, and “to give him such an expression as himself “would have owned. I have not decked “his person with emblems of Roman Con-  
“sulage,

“sulage, or placed a Marechal’s Bâton in  
 “his hand: an antient dress would have been  
 “unnatural; and the Russian habit, it is well  
 “known that he wished to abolish. The skin  
 “on which he is seated, is emblematical of  
 “the nation that he refined. Possibly,”  
 added he, “the Czar would have asked me,  
 “why I did not put a sabre into his hand;  
 “but, perhaps, he made too great a use of it  
 “when alive, and a sculptor ought only to  
 “exhibit those parts of a character which re-  
 “flect honor on it, rather drawing a veil  
 “across the errors and vices which tarnish it.  
 “A labored panegyric would have been  
 “equally injudicious and unnecessary, since  
 “history has already performed that office  
 “with impartial justice, and held up his  
 “name to universal regard, or veneration. I  
 “must do her present majesty the justice to  
 “say, that she had taste and discernment  
 “enough perfectly to see this circumstance,  
 “and to prefer the present short inscription,  
 “before any other which could be com-  
 “posed.” Russian Finland, that nursery of  
 stone,

stone, has furnished the rock, on which the statue is placed. It is a species of granite, admirably adapted for such a purpose. On account of it's enormous magnitude, a machine was constructed on rollers, somewhat similar to that on which Swift describes Gulliver to have been conveyed into the capital of Lilliput: on this machine, the rock was transported to St. Petersburg. Art then reduced it to it's present form and dimensions. Every thing is now in preparation to cast the statue itself, which will, when finished, be perhaps incontestably the most matchless production of it's kind in Europe.

Independent of his genius as an artist, Falconette is a man of uncommon talents, erudition, and expansion of sentiment: he is a citizen of the earth, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. He is, however, said to possess, in a high degree, that *soreness*, as Pope expressed it, that impatience of unmerited

S

censure,

censure; and that peevishness, which men of fine parts often discover, on account of the erroneous judgment which the multitude form of their abilities and execution. He paid many encomiums to the merit of our present painters in England, particularly to Sir Joshua Reynolds, with whom, he said, he maintained a constant correspondence, and interchange of their respective compositions. "Count Hugolino in the dungeon," hung over his chimney-piece; which, he said, the Chevalier Reynolds had lately presented him, and the exquisite expression of which, he could not behold without mingled terror and admiration. He inquired of me if I knew Mademoiselle Angelica Kauffman, almost all whose pieces he possesses, and passionately esteems them. In a word, I have received peculiar pleasure from his acquaintance, which he has permitted me to cultivate during my stay here, and from which I derive no less honor, than instruction.

As he has passed the middle stage of life,

life, and has been a resident in St. Petersburg near eight years, I could not help asking him, a few days ago, whether he had not any design to return to France, his native country ; particularly, when a young prince, who seemed to open his reign with great applause, might employ him in some work ornamental to his kingdom? " Alas ! " Sir," said he, " I have lived long enough to know, that every sovereign, more especially a youthful one, begins his career with honor and approbation, though time usually crops these early and immature trophies. For me, I have nothing, when I revisit my native land, to ask from it, besides a few feet of earth to inter my remains, and that, it cannot refuse me."—I have often observed, that all men of superior talents hold the same language ; and, when the tumultuous season of life is over, where ambition or hope may have tendered them ideal advantages, and deluded their sober judgments, they have not any other wish,

than humble sequestration, and say with  
Tibullus,

*Me, mea paupertas vitæ traducat inertī,  
Dum meus assiduo luceat igne focus.*

But you will tell me that I am running  
into reflection, when you expect description.  
I have done, and will endeavor, if I can, in  
a day or two, to give you some idea of this  
capital, from my imperfect views of it.

St. Petersburg,  
Wednesday, 20th July, 1774:

THIS city is as yet, only an immense outline, which will require future empresses, and almost future ages, to complete. It stands at present on a prodigious extent of ground ; but, as the houses in many parts are not contiguous, and great spaces are left unbuilt, it is difficult to ascertain it's real size and magnitude. Devotion has not been wanting to add magnificence to St. Petersburg, and to erect places of worship in almost every part of the capital. Curiosity and novelty have carried me to all of them. The external architecture differs very little in any : the Greeks seem as fond of domes, as the Mahomedans are of Minarets, in their religious edifices. They usually encircle one large, with four smaller Cupolas, and cover them with copper gilt, which has a fine effect to the eye, when the sun's rays are reflected from it. The ornaments within



are costly and barbarous: a Mexican temple can hardly be more so. They surround a daubing of the Virgin and Jesus, with gold or silver head-dresses, and sometimes with complete habits; only leaving exposed the fingers, which the multitude very devoutly kiss. Some of these strange compound figures of paint and metal are very laughable, where the poor Madonna seems like a prisoner in golden fetters.

The Papas or priests, are dressed in vestments which very much resemble those of the Romish church, and are generally composed of tissue, or of expensive silks. The manner in which they perform the service, rather reminds the hearer of an incantation, than of a prayer offered to the Deity; as they repeat much of it so incredibly fast, that one is tempted to suppose it impossible the audience can understand one articulate word the priest utters, let their attention be ever so fixed or profound. St. Nicholas, who still holds his rank and veneration in the Greek calendar, has almost as many altars consecrated

consécated to him, as the Virgin herself. By the way, I do not know their reason for it, but I have remarked, that in nine out of ten heads of Mary and the infant Jesus, the Russians represent them as black, or at least of a deep Indian olive colour, nearly approaching to it. In this delineation, it is not improbable that they give a juster idea of her person, than Raphael or Guido; since the Syrian women of inferior condition, who are exposed to the sun in the climate of Palestine, must necessarily be of a very deep, tawny complexion.

In the church of the citadel, which stands on the other side of the Neva, repose the bodies of Peter the first, and of the successive sovereigns since his death. They are ranged in coffers, side by side; but have not, any of them, monuments of bronze or marble, erected to their memories. There is not, indeed any other motive to induce a traveller to visit this church, except the consciousness that he beholds the wood which contains the ashes of Peter; accompanied

by the mingled sentiment of reverence and pleasure, which the mind may experience from the contemplation of it. One emperor only is excluded, as unworthy to be entombed with his predecessors in the throne of Russia. I mean, the late unhappy Peter the third, whose body was exposed during some days in the monastery of St. Alexander Newfskoi, a few miles out of town, in order to convince the people that he had not suffered any violence, but had ended his life naturally: he was afterwards privately interred there.

Having mentioned the name of Peter the third, I am led to make a few remarks on his conduct and character. Though, under the present reign it may be imagined, that few persons either dare, or choose to speak their sentiments freely with respect to him, yet I am induced to believe, from universal testimony, that he was very unfit to reign ; and that, whatever private, moral condemnation, the empress, as his wife, may undergo, it was a most salutary and requisite policy for Russia,

sia, to depose him. He brought to St. Petersburg, all the illiberal and pernicious prejudices of a German ; he avowed his open contempt for their religion, their manners, and their laws ; he was on the point of commencing a war with Denmark, for the recovery of his Holstein dominions ; and he would in a few days have begun his march, across the immense tract of country which separates these kingdoms. He had personally ill-treated and injured his wife ; as well as alienated by his imprudence, almost all the Russian nobility and clergy. The vigor and celerity with which the empress acted in effecting the revolution, could only be exceeded by the pusillanimity and meanness with which Peter resigned the crown. On the day which preceded this event, the 8th of July, 1762, he was at the palace of Oranienbaum, totally unprepared for such a change, of which he entertained no suspicion. Catherine departed from Peterhoff, where she then resided, by a postern door in the gardens, very early in the morning ;

Prince

Prince Orloff conducting her in his coach ; and she reached Petersburg before her absence was known. She instantly took possession of the palace without difficulty or opposition, and putting herself in uniform at the head of the guards, marched towards Peterhoff.

As soon as the emperor received this intelligence, he embarked immediately from Oranienbaum, which is situate on the shore of the gulf of Finland, in one of the imperial yachts, in hopes to reach the fortress of Cronstadt, which is nearly opposite, where he would have been secure. In this expectation he was disappointed, the empress having already anticipated his intention, and dispatched two admirals, who secured that important citadel, the key of the empire. When he came near the fortress, they ordered him to keep off, or they would sink him ; at the same time pointing the cannon for that purpose. Besides his mistress, the Countess of Woronzoff, he had a number of other women and attendants in the vessel with him. Ter-  
rified

rified at the appearance of opposition, they knelt round him, and rent the air with their cries, in order to induce him to relinquish his purpose. He was weak enough to comply, and yielding to his own fears, no less than to their importunities, he had not the courage to attempt to land at Cronstadt, but returned back to Oranienbaum. It proved afterwards that the guns of the battery were not loaded.

The old Field Marechal Count Munich, who had been newly recalled from his long exile in Siberia, was with him at this critical emergency, and gave him the only advice which could possibly have saved him. He implored Peter to go boldly and meet the empress, to charge the guards on their allegiance to obey his orders as their sovereign, and offered to lose his own life in the emperor's defence. Peter had not sufficient courage and decision, either to perceive the absolute necessity of this counsel, or to embrace it instantly. On the contrary, consulting only with his terrors, he threw himself on the ground before the  
empress,

empress, in the gardens of Oranienbaum, covering his face with both his hands; burst into all the impotence of tears, and implored in terms of the most abject submission, that his life might be spared, and his paternal dominions of Holstein be assigned him for his future residence. She commanded him to rise, and conducted him to the palace of Peterhoff, where he signed a paper, by which he resigned the sovereign power into her hands.

Meanwhile covered waggon were provided, which took different roads, in order that it might not be known in which was the deposed prince; and this mighty revolution, which transferred the greatest empire on earth, to a woman and a foreigner, was effected in a few hours, almost without any confusion or bloodshed. The people, accustomed to despotism, and indifferent who was the ruler, remained silent and quiet spectators; the guards being the only actors, and the whole a repetition of the Princess Elizabeth's conduct some years before, in 1741, when young Ivan was  
deposed

deposed, and she seized the throne. Over the rest of Peter's story, we must draw a veil. Such a prisoner, it is natural to suppose, could not long remain in that condition. On the ninth day subsequent to his seizure, it was reported that he had been attacked with a disorder to which he was subject; and soon after his death was announced. We know no more. History, at some future time, will fully elucidate his end; but in this century it is not likely that such a secret can be divulged.

Though I would not, however indirectly, appear as the apologist of crimes, yet, justice requires me to say, that it is universally allowed, the empress might plead self-defence, if not even self-preservation, to justify her conduct; as it is known that Peter had concerted, and would have carried into execution, the most severe measures against her, if he had not been prevented by so vigorous an attack. When we add to this circumstance, the uniform tenor of her life and reign since that æra, during which  
humanity



humanity and wisdom seem scarce ever to have forsaken her; candor will, perhaps, be induced to pass over one spot, which state-policy rendered necessary, and which from the moment of her resistance became unavoidable.—I return to Petersburg.

The public buildings of different kinds, are so prodigiously numerous in this city, that I am inclined to believe, they constitute a fifth or sixth part of the whole capital. Some of them are of stone, but the larger part are only brick, or wood plastered. The winter-palace, which is composed of the former materials, was erected by the late empress Elizabeth: it is very large, and very heavy: one would have supposed that our Sir John Vanbrugh had been invoked to lend his aid in the plan of it, since nothing can more strikingly resemble his style. It is not yet quite finished, like almost every thing else in Russia. The situation is very fine, on the banks of the Neva, and in the centre of the town. Contiguous to it is a small palace, built by the present empress, and called

called, I scarcely know why, *The Hermitage*. It no more resembles our idea of a hermitage, than it does a temple; but when her majesty resides in this part of the building, she is considered to be in retirement, and there is no drawing-room, or court. I accompanied Sir Robert Gunning, together with Sir Charles and Lady Knowles, a few days ago, to see these apartments, which are very elegant, and are furnished with great taste. There are two galleries of paintings, which have been lately purchased for the empress, at an immense expence, in Italy; among which I would willingly, was it permitted, pass some hours every day, during my residence here.

The imperial crown of Russia, which I saw in the palace itself, is perhaps the richest in Europe. It is shaped like a bonnet, and totally covered with precious stones. At the point of the sceptre, is the celebrated diamond, purchased by Prince Orloff of an Armenian merchant, for 500,000 rubles, or about a hundred thousand pounds; and

and presented by him to his sovereign mistress, only a few months ago. He laid it on her toilette, without any previous notice. It far exceeds Pitt's diamond in size, and is not inferior in water; but there is one scratch in it. Lapidaries declare it to be the most beautiful ever brought from Golconda. It is only in Russia, that such presents can be made by subjects to their sovereigns. None of the Cæsars received such from their courtiers, when they were masters of the world; and it would be in vain, I believe, to seek for any parallel to it in modern Europe. Prince Orloff enhanced the value of the offering, by the elegant compliment which accompanied it; signifying, that "the marks of the imperial bounty which had been conferred upon him, returned to their original source."

I had an opportunity of seeing the empress, a few evenings ago, at a private entertainment given by Monsieur de Nariskin, the "Grand Veneur;" a nobleman to whose hospitality and politeness I am greatly indebted.

debted. The company was not numerous, and the scene lay in the gardens of Count Nariskin, at a small distance from St. Petersburg. Bands of music were placed in different parts of the gardens, concealed from view. Her Majesty arrived about eight o'clock, only accompanied by two ladies, in an open carriage. She partook of a collation provided for her in a separate apartment; after which, coming into the room where the company was seated at table, she commanded us not to rise; went round behind the chairs, and accosted each person in the most gracious manner. Soon afterwards she got into her carriage, and returned the same night to Peterhoff. It is impossible not to form a favorable idea of her understanding, and of her disposition, from the peculiar grace, dignity, and condescension of her manners. Suavity and intelligence seem mingled in her deportment. Even her person and features have the same characteristics.

There are two academies here, one of

T

arts,

## 274 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

arts, the other of sciences; both of which I have repeatedly visited. The present empress has founded the first, which will be, when finished, a superb edifice: it is furnished with masters in the different branches of polite letters, and is filled with casts, taken from the most renowned models of Greek and Roman sculpture. I do not, however, find that as yet, any eminent men of genius have appeared, though they have not been without artists. Nature seems to have confined perfection in these elegant and exquisite productions of the pencil, or the chisel, to certain climates and people, among whom they sprung spontaneous for centuries; and which are only imperfectly copied by other nations, where the seeds are not so happily disposed, or the mental and corporeal organs so justly adapted.

I am more charmed with the river Neva itself, than with any object that I see here. The Thames is not comparable to it in beauty; and as the stream sets constantly out of the Lake Ladoga, into the gulf of Finland,

Finland, the current is always full, clear, and perfectly clean. Along it's banks extends beyond all doubt the finest walk in the world. It is not a quay, as vessels never come up to this part of the city, but a parade, running a mile in length, the buildings on which are hardly to be exceeded in elegance; and it is yet to be continued to double the length. Over the Neva, in the narrowest part, is a bridge, floated on pontoons. From this noble river, canals are cut to all parts of the city; nor, when the communication which it has with the interior of the Russian empire is considered, can, any situation be more favorable to the genius of commerce, if the inclemency of the latitude did not keep it frozen up for at least five months annually. As this place is the formation of so few years, it is laid out with great regularity: there is not any thing which looks old, and much is still imperfect and unfinished. The buildings have throughout a very handsome appearance, and are, like every thing else, on a larger scale than

I have ever seen elsewhere. The streets are mostly paved; but they have a custom here, of laying in many places a flooring of timber, or planks, on the ground. This practice, I am told, was yet more common formerly in Moscow; where, during the frequent fires to which that metropolis, like Constantinople, is subject, the street itself caught the flames: the conflagration then became terrible, as the houses likewise at Moscow are chiefly composed of wood, even at present. Like Copenhagen and Stockholm, the police of Petersburg is very good, and people may walk with great safety at any hour. Now and then a robbery or a murder happen, but they are not frequent.

At this season of the year, when the empress and the court are out of town, there are scarcely any public spectacles, except at the imperial palace, where a Russian and French comedy are performed, generally once a week. The seats are adjusted by rank, and no money is paid for entrance, as it is the empress's own amusement, and limited

to

to people of condition. In the king of Portugal's theatre at Belem, near Lisbon, the same rules, and the same exclusions are observed. For my own part, I find a much superior entertainment in walking every evening, till eleven or midnight, either on the banks of the Neva, or in the Summer Gardens, which likewise belong to the crown, and are always open. They are situate at one extremity of the walk which I mentioned, by the side of the river, and are full of statues, jets-d'eau, and fountains. The hour is now come when I usually set out, and the night is too fine and serene, to miss the opportunity. So for the present, adieu!



St. Petersburg,  
Saturday, 23d July, 1774.

AMONG the gentlemen of the English factory, established in this capital, from whom I have received the greatest marks of hospitality and politeness, I may reckon his Britannic majesty's Consul, Mr. Swallow. He has resided here a number of years, and has witnessed successive revolutions in the Russian empire. Conversing with him, a few days ago, on the character and government of Catherine the second; "The reigning empress," said he, "must be pronounced a great princess. To compare her, even with the best of the three empresses, her predecessors, would be an affront to her talents and her virtues. Nor is the manner of her acquiring the elevation to which she has ascended, to be justly considered as detracting from her title to respect. She was necessitated to depose the late emperor; and I know that she implored, even with tears  
and

and entreaties, that his life might be spared. It was not Catherine who caused him to be put to death. She was in that act merely an involuntary and reluctant agent. The terrors of her partizans, of the Orloffs, the Razomouskis, and the Panins, sealed the doom of the unfortunate Peter. Catherine did not dare to refuse her signature to the instrument that pronounced his destruction."

"As far as appearances can attach culpability or innocence to any sovereign, she was unconscious, and therefore guiltless, of the death of the emperor Ivan. It is, however, an event over which, even at the present time, great uncertainty is spread, and which has afforded subject for infinite conjectures. The empress was at Riga, when she received the intelligence, which was brought to her while in public, before a crowd of spectators. She exhibited every external indication of genuine distress. Nor is it by any means necessary to infer, or to suppose, that she imbrued her hands in the blood of that unhappy prince. Her treatment of his brothers and sisters, who still

survive, though under restraint, would lead a candid mind to form an opposite conclusion."

"We are under no apprehensions that she will treat her son, the grand duke, as Peter the first treated the Czarowitz Alexis. The magnanimity, vigilance, and vigor of Catherine, leave her no just ground of apprehension that her son may attempt to dethrone her. Nor is her title to the empire a very defective one in Russia, whatever it might be accounted in other countries, or kingdoms. You must not forget that she had been associated to the imperial dignity and functions, by Peter the third, before his deposition. Catherine the first, who reigned, it is difficult to say by what right, to the exclusion of the grandson of Peter the great, the unquestionable heir to the throne, could not surely plead as good a title as her present majesty."

"Even in the weaknesses of her conduct, the empress is at least decorous: compared with her predecessor Elizabeth, she may be termed modest. It is true that General Potemkin

Potemkin has openly succeeded to the place of personal favorite so long occupied by Prince Orloff; but, in Russia, these violations of female chastity excite little animadversion, and no surprize. The debaucheries of Elizabeth, were those of a Scythian; fierce, uncontroled, and licentious. The amours of Catherine, are veiled under the disguise of passion, and are by no means destitute of intellectual enjoyments."

" In the spirit of her government and adminstration, no less than in her gallantries, the genius of the Russian despotism is softened since her accession. Twelve years have done more to humanize the court, and the tribunals of justice, than had been effected since Peter the great's decease. We see no longer, such spectacles on the scaffold, as excited horror under the two late empresses: when the most beautiful and delicate women of the first rank were exhibited, to the disgrace of human nature, in a state half naked; exposed to the brutal touch of savage executioners; their backs lacerated with the Knout, or their tongues cut out. Even the  
exiles

exiles to Siberia are much less frequent. Every thing shews that a German, not a Russian, governs."

"Notwithstanding, however, so many claims to the national gratitude and admiration, the situation of the empress, and of the empire, are most critical at the present moment. You see before your eyes, the imposing exterior of a splendid court and capital: but the interior, if it could be exhibited, is very different. The war, maintained for so many years against the Turks, has not hitherto led to any fortunate results. I am aware that Catherine's armies and navies have been victorious. The destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Tchismé; the capture of Bender; the progress of Prince Dolgorucki in the Crimea; finally, the advantages acquired by Marshal Romanzow on the Danube;—all these will appear brilliant in history; but we are in want of peace. The treasury is exhausted; and the loans now negotiating in Holland, suffer many difficulties. Hostilities, which are to be carried on at such prodigious distances  
from

from the capital, are necessarily expensive : while, it is to be observed that the Turks fight upon their own territories.”

“ Pugatschef, a formidable rebel, who, though repeatedly vanquished, still survives, must always inspire alarm in a country, where interminable deserts afford him asylum : where imposture finds perpetual materials on which to work : where the name of Peter the third may produce new revolutions ; and where regular armies can with difficulty follow, or overtake him. The false Demetrius, who in the last century reappeared so many times, may revive in the present age, among Cossacks and Tartars. Events which are impossible elsewhere, are by no means impossible here.”

“ But, a circumstance far more alarming, though less known, is the unprotected state of all the north of the Russian empire. So completely have the wants of the armies drained the population of the provinces, that we are left at present almost defenceless in the capital. From Riga round to Fredericshamm, comprehending both sides of the  
gulf

gulf of Finland ; exclusive of the Guards, we have not altogether five thousand regular troops. Ingria, Livonia, and Carelia, together with the metropolis itself, are exposed to the most imminent danger, if an enemy were to appear. Never was a moment so favorable to Sweden, for regaining her lost provinces, and for recovering the territories lost by Charles the twelfth ! The present king is enterprising, ambitious, and brave : he has effected a revolution at Stockholm ; and he is irritated to a degree of animosity against the empress, who endeavored by every possible means to retain him in his former political fetters. If Gustavus were suddenly to appear before the fortresses in Russian Finland, he might reach St. Petersburg by gaining a single battle ; and Catherine might be compelled to fly to Moscow. The consequences of such a disaster, in such a country as Russia, are incalculable. Judge, after this long exposure, how critical is the condition of the empire !”

I am conscious that I have not done  
justice

justice to the very luminous words in which the above picture of the actual state of Russia, were given to me. But I have endeavored faithfully to preserve the substance of the information; which, as memory is treacherous, I instantly committed to paper, on quitting Mr. Swallow. It is time that I resume my remarks on the capital.

The genuine Russians who are unadulterated by a commerce with other nations, evidently partake much more of Asiatic, than of European manners: the men among the lower class, universally wear the beard, in defiance of all the rigorous edicts issued by Peter the first, with a view to abolish this barbarous custom. The women in general only bind their heads with pieces of silk or linen, very nearly resembling in appearance the eastern turband; accommodating the other parts of their dress pretty nearly to our's. I have, however, seen many of them in the old Muscovite habits of the different provinces, which are curious in the highest degree. In some, the head-dress



dress projects six or eight inches from the forehead, and is enriched with pearls ; in others it is a sort of bonnet, laced, and sitting close round the head ; nor is the rest of their habit less singular.

I am only just returned from being a spectator of one of their customs, at which I could not help being a little surprized. It was a promiscuous bathing of not less than two hundred persons of both sexes. I know that you will immediately recollect Lady Wortley Montague's description of the baths of Sophia, and expect somewhat of the same nature ; but nothing can be imagined more opposite or unlike. The vivid colouring of her pen has called up a scene more voluptuous and glowing, than any which Ovid imagined, or Titian drew : we see the Houris of Mahommed realized, and beauty in all it's naked magnificence : but, this exhibition was a sight rather calculated to excite disgust than desire, and to which only curiosity could ever have carried me. There are several of these public Bagnios in Petersburg, and every one pays a few  
Copiques,

Copiques, (value a halfpenny English each) for admittance. There are, indeed, separate spaces, intended for the men and women; but they seem quite regardless of this distinction, and sit or bathe, in a state of absolute nudity among each other. A circumstance which is equally extraordinary, they go first into a room heated to so intense a degree, that it is scarcely possible to breathe in it; and after having remained there till their bodies are in the most violent state of perspiration, they instantly either plunge into the cold water of the Neva, or else throw a quantity of it over them from little buckets, with which they are all provided for that purpose. This operation may only harden a Russian constitution; but, I believe, it would be found to produce very different effects on an English frame. The greater part of the women were the most hideous figures that I ever beheld, and reminded me of Horace's Canidia, for whom they were very proper companions. I counted half a dozen young girls who appeared tolerably pretty, and  
they

they never could have been viewed to more advantage, than near such foils. If I were disposed to study nature, I confess this is as proper a school as can be imagined, since fancy can hardly figure an attitude which may not be found here; but, as a voluptuary, I would never visit it more.

A gentleman with whom I happened to be in company some days since, communicated to me a remark on the Muscovite women, which I thought ingenious, and may very possibly be true. We were talking of the Indian dancing-girls, at Goa, Mangalore, and other places on the coast of India, who, it is known, are capable of cohabitation at eleven years of age, and frequently have children at those years: a circumstance resulting in a great degree from their proximity to the sun, which ripens men, as well as plants, much earlier in those tropical latitudes! "You must not, however," said he, "apprehend that the same rule reversed, holds good among us; and that, because a native of Indostan is arrived to maturity at eleven,  
a Russian

a Russian girl is not marriageable till twenty-two. The females in this country are all forced, and brought forward in despite of nature: during the winter months, they remain constantly in apartments heated by stoves to a vast degree; from which they enter upon a hasty, but burning summer, of two or three months. The consequence of this circumstance, superadded to their warm baths, of which they are very fond, is, that they want, like every other artificial production, the genuine flavor which only nature can give. That charming firmness and elasticity of flesh, so indispensibly requisite to constitute beauty, so delicious to the touch, and so provoking to the appetite, exists not among the Russian females, or in very few of them."—I must own that this observation not only appears founded in reason, but was most strikingly exemplified in the undressed assembly where I was present this afternoon.

Independent even of this concealed, or unascertained defect, I cannot lavish many encomiums on the charms which the ladies dis-

U

cover:

cover: indeed, I am told, that the style of loveliness here, is not a little different from ours; and that in order to possess any pre-eminent degree of it, a woman must weigh at least two hundred weight. Prior's criterion won't do here, and they would laugh at his "*Fine by degrees, and beautifully less,*" as a false and vitiated taste. The late empress Elizabeth was one of these ponderous and massy beauties: such she appears in all the portraits that I have seen of her.— They pretend to assert, that there is not a court in Europe, more licentious than Catherine the second's; and that the ladies who compose it, would not have disgraced that of Joan of Naples herself, so famous in story. Her majesty's conduct, however, as soon as she could with propriety shew her resentment on the affair of a late minister from England; I mean Sir George Macartney; who, if fame say true, was rather seduced by, than the seducer of, a maid of honor, was very spirited and severe. The lady is sent into retirement, to fast away her trespass.

The

The climate is prodigiously altered within this last week. All the violence of the heat is past, and the Russians assure me that it will return no more this summer. They have few, or no fruits here, except strawberries and raspberries: wall-fruit is almost unknown, and must necessarily be very rare in such a climate. They have, however, as I am assured, excellent melons, pomegranates, and pines, brought to Petersburg from Astracan, in twenty-one days; which is not a less distance than fifteen hundred miles, across all Muscovy. Indeed, when one reflects on the immense magnitude of this empire, one is lost in the idea. They count five thousand miles from hence to Kamptschatka, the eastern, but uncertain termination of their dominion; and north, it runs "to Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where." In this vast portion of the globe, are reckoned, I think, six separate kingdoms, the distinct crowns of which are all to be seen at Moscow. These are, Russia, Siberia, Casan, Astracan, and two others,

with whose names I am not acquainted. The soil, climate, and produce, must be infinitely different in so extensive a domain. The Ukraine is represented to me, as one of the most fertile and delicious provinces of the earth, by those who have visited it. The country round this capital, is a morass overgrown with birch and fir, nor is there a hill to be found within several miles. All the houses of Petersburgh are built on piles, like those of Amsterdam; and I am often strikingly reminded of Holland.

I am assured that under the two late empresses, it was not uncommon to meet in society with persons of high condition, of both sexes, who had suffered the amputation of part of their tongue. I have not seen any thing of the kind during my short stay here: but I dined in company with a French officer, only a few days ago, who had been transported to Siberia under the present reign. He is now in the service of his Polish majesty, having a commission in that prince's regiment of Guards. I ventured to ask him the particulars of his  
seizure

seizure and exile. "I was taken most unprepared," said he, "having gone to a masquerade, here in Petersburg, on the very night of my arrest. I left the room for a moment, meaning to return: but scarcely had I done so, when I was seized, and in spite of my remonstrances, forcibly put into a *Kabitka*, or covered sledge. I was habited in a *Domino*, little adapted to such a journey; particularly in the midst of winter, when the snow covered the ground. In this dress, nevertheless, without being allowed to stop for an hour, except upon indispensable occasions, I was whirled away across the vast deserts which divide St. Petersburg from Tobolski, the capital of Siberia. At the end of twenty-five days, I was taken out of my vehicle, and brought before the governor of that place. He treated me with great humanity; but, in compliance with the orders that he had received, he sent me to a considerable distance east of Tobolski, where I was furnished with arms, and compelled regularly to bring in a fixed number of furs, or skins.



The companions of my misfortune, as well as myself, were all numbered previous to our leaving Tobolski ; and by those marks or numbers we were known and recognized ; not by our names. I remained more than two years in Siberia, at the end of which time the exertions of our ambassador procured my liberation and return." This gentleman is on the point of his departure for Warsaw.

Among the public institutions of this capital, I was carried last Sunday to see an establishment, which can hardly be exceeded in utility by any in Europe, and which is worthy of the present empress, who may be deemed it's founder ; though Elizabeth her predecessor erected the edifice which she designed for a nunnery. It is situate just out of town, and is a magnificent building ; but, like every thing else here, is not yet completed. Her present majesty, who has preferred reason to superstition, converted it into a public place of education, where young women of all conditions are completely instructed in every

every necessary and elegant accomplishment, at the sole expense of the crown. Those of noble families are kept quite distinct from the inferior children. I think they informed me, that there are at this time upwards of two hundred and thirty females of the former description, and double that number of the latter, in this admirable seminary.

Some branches of the police have appeared to me singular, though I must allow, on reflexion, that they are probably productive of salutary consequences. I was a little indisposed, soon after my arrival, and sent my servant to purchase some Magnesia in the shops. He brought me word, that no apothecary would sell him any; and that three or four of them had assured him, they dared not part with a drachm, if a hundred ducats were offered for it, unless a regular prescription was brought them, signed by a physician, the punishment of acting otherwise being very severe. Esculapius could not, as it seems to me, have made a law more beneficial to the faculty;

but it prevents empirics from destroying numbers, as they do with impunity among us; and renders it very easy to discover poisons, by tracing to it's source the vender of them. Another regulation which is established here, though not without it's advantages likewise, is very troublesome. No stranger can quit the capital, in order to pass the frontiers, without having been first advertised in all the public papers, for ten days preceding his departure, even if his business or affairs should be ever so urgent. It must be remembered, however, that Petersburg is not a city of general passage, like Paris, or Turin; and that hardly any foreigner comes to it, merely with a view to stay a day or two; so that the inconvenience is not by any means so great or universal, as at first one is tempted to suppose.

I have made one or two excursions round the capital, particularly to Gatchina, a palace of Prince Orloff's, about forty miles off. The country in the vicinity of St. Petersburg is in general flat, tame, and  
sterile:

sterile; devoid of any beauty: but Gatchina is situate in the most eligible spot within a great distance of the metropolis, and will, when finished, be a superb seat: for, like every thing else in Russia, it is incomplete. The gardens are laid out in the English taste, by a man of merit, whom the prince has employed for the purpose: but what can art or money do to decorate nature, in the sixtieth degree of latitude? It must be owned, however, that the formation of the ground, and a fine piece of water near the house, gave him some scope for his genius. On my return from Gatchina, I visited the royal palace of Zarsko-Zelo: it was built by Elizabeth, and is the completest triumph of barbarous taste that I have seen in these northern kingdoms. The situation is low, commanding hardly any prospect, and destitute of any natural advantages to claim such a preference. It is very large, and the front extends to a great length, as there is only one story besides the ground-floors. In defiance of common sense, as well as of the weather and the climate, all  
the

the capitals of the pillars, the statues, and many other parts of the external structure are gilt: the eye, indeed, meets scarcely any thing else than gilding, in the apartments within. One room is decorated in a very peculiar and uncommon style of magnificence, the sides of the apartment being entirely composed of amber, on which are disposed festoons, and other ornaments of the same curious production. It's transparency, and the consciousness of it's rarity, have a fine effect. This furniture of amber was a present made by the reigning king of Prussia, to the late empress. Elizabeth seems nevertheless to have been little mollified in her political and personal antipathies towards his Prussian majesty, by so costly a mark of regard on his part: for she joined Austria and Saxony in 1756, in the great confederacy formed against Frederic. Nothing saved him from utter ruin in 1762, except Elizabeth's most opportune death. Her present majesty is said to prefer the palace of Zarsko-Zelo to any other of the imperial seats; and

and when resident there, she is considered to be in retirement, as she is in town, when at the Hermitage.

I have never yet said a word of the Grand Duke of Russia, heir apparent to the crown. He is just twenty years of age. It is very difficult to know what qualities or talents he really possesses, since, under this despotic and jealous government, there is scarce any material power vested in the second, more than in the hundredth person in the empire. He has not, as it would seem, betrayed hitherto any shining parts, or peculiar features of character. Those who know him, say that he is amiable, affable, and well disposed:—but, how general and uncertain are these strokes; and how little may we, perhaps, recognize them in the future emperor, Paul the first? He has been married about eleven months. The grand duchess, who is a German princess, of the house of Hesse-Darmstadt, is very plain in her person; but, yet has a somewhat about the lineaments of her countenance and whole demeanor, which, if I inclined

clined to judge from physiognomy, would give me a very favorable impression of her heart and disposition. This sentiment, I am assured, she well merits, and that the grand duke is much attached to her.

I saw an account yesterday, in our English news-papers, which are, reflectively and on principle, the avowed vehicles of falsehood over all Europe; that the rebel Pugatschef was taken prisoner, and his party at an end. On the contrary, it is incontestible that he has retired into the southern provinces of the empire, where he still excites fresh commotions; and I am just informed that four new regiments are ordered to march against him. He has been here, what Ali-Bey was in Egypt, and will probably at length meet with a similar destiny.

The death of the late Grand Signior, seems to have made no alteration in the war between the Porte and Russia. Two vast armies, under the command of Prince Dolgorucki, and of Marshal Romanzoff, are still acting against the Turks; the first in  
the

the Crimea, the other on the Danube, whose banks they have fertilized with human blood. The news of an important advantage gained by the empress's forces, was received here ten or twelve days ago, for which the guns of the citadel were fired : but, peace is apparently far off. Fresh Bachas, and fresh Janizaries, supply the place of those who fall by the sword : while the Turks, become cautious in consequence of so many defeats, seem to have adopted Fabius's maxim, and endeavor to tire out the enemy, by protracting this expensive and sanguinary war. A policy the wisest and most efficacious which they can possibly embrace, when it is considered at what an immense distance from the capital of this empire, the scene of action is situate ! It is from the exhaustion of the finances, in consequence of the sums requisite to answer the military charges, that the unfinished and imperfect appearance of every thing in Petersburg chiefly results, and that it's advancement in beauty and magnificence is for a while retarded.



retarded. A lover of the arts of peace, cannot but regret this unhappy necessity.

The celebrated globe of Tycho Brahé, which Peter the first, when he was at Copenhagen, procured from Frederic the fourth, king of Denmark, exists no more; it was consumed by fire in the year 1747. I saw the new globe, this morning, which has been lately constructed on the model of the other; but, somewhat inferior in size. The exact dimensions of the first, I do not know. The present globe measures eleven feet in diameter from pole to pole, and in the inside is fixed a table, with seats round it, which can admit twelve persons.—I sat down in it for some time. On the surface of the internal concave globe, are designed all the celestial bodies and constellations; the stars being marked, according to their different magnitudes, by silver studs radiated. The external globe is painted, or rather, is to be painted, with the various countries of the earth: for this part is not yet completed. A circular building has  
been

been erected in the midst of an open spot, wholly detached from any other house, for the reception and preservation of this noble astronomical machine; which is, I apprehend, the largest of it's kind in Europe.

I am now on the point of quitting Petersburg, to return through Prussia and Germany, to England. Of the genius, manners, and real character of the Muscovites, I neither pretend, nor can possibly know any thing, from the short stay that I have made here. I have only seen the residence of the court, not the antient capital, or the interior of the empire. If I obeyed the impulse of my own inclinations, I should not content myself with this partial and imperfect view: on the contrary, my wishes would not even be gratified by a sight of Moscow itself. I should continue my journey from thence, to Casan and Astracan; nor stop there, unless from an incapacity of passing by the Caspian sea, and the intermediate provinces of the Ottoman dominions, to Constantinople. They smile, with a look of incredulity and surprize,  
when

when I assure them that it is my intention, if insurmountable obstacles do not prevent me, to return here and attempt this tour ; not considering that danger and fatigue are no impediments to a traveller, when knowledge is the reward. I have, however, found the highest degree of entertainment, mingled with that improvement which opens and expands the mind, in my short residence here. Neither Copenhagen nor Stockholm contain so many objects to attract notice ; particularly when it is remembered that those cities, which have already existed for ages, have probably reached their meridian ; while every month adds to the beauty and magnificence of this newly founded metropolis. My route towards Germany, lies, as you know, through Ingria, and Livonia, over ground wrested by the Czar from Sweden, at the beginning of the present century. I dispatch this to-night. My next will be from Narva. Adieu!

## LETTER XII.

Narva,

Sunday, 31st July, 1774.

LAST Thursday morning, about six o'clock, I quitted St. Petersburg, where several little accidents concurred to detain me some days longer than I had intended. The whole intermediate country from thence to the gates of this city, is a vast plain, level, open, and covered in many parts with harvests, which the peasants are already reaping. It reminded me exceedingly of Salisbury plain, to which it bore a striking resemblance. My intention was only to have remained in Narva for a few hours; but the pressing instances of two or three very hospitable gentlemen, to whom I have been recommended here, has induced me to prolong my stay. After dinner, last Friday, they carried me out of the town, to shew me the celebrated spot on which Charles the twelfth routed a hundred thousand  
X Muscovites,

Muscovites, with his little Swedish troop, rather than army, only about seventy years ago. It was impossible not to recollect the battles of Issus, and of Arbela, in antiquity, where discipline produced a similar triumph over numbers, while I walked over the ground rendered memorable by this victory. But, the modern Alexander did not find a Darius in his antagonist; and Peter severely revenged at Pultowa, the disgrace of Narva.

The intrenchments of the Russian camp are still distinctly visible, and extend, as they assure me, near eighteen English miles along the shore of the gulf of Finland. Their head-quarters were established in a little island, situate at the narrowest part of the river of Narva, where a bridge was thrown over it; which sinking under the crowd of flying Muscovites, destroyed as great a number, as their enemies had cut to pieces. The Czar obliterated in the same place, the dishonour of his arms, on that day when he afterwards took Narva,  
and

and transported the wretched inhabitants, male and female, into the most remote parts of his vast dominions. It must be confessed, that such a treatment of captives taken in war, resembles more the manners of the heroic, or barbarous ages, than those of the century in which we live. The inhabitants of Narva seem to have been treated by the Czar, nearly as the Trojans were, after the capture of Ilium, by the Greeks. They yet point out the bastion here, where Peter made the assault; and it is said, that on his entering the place, and finding the Swedish Commandant in his robe de chambre, unapprehensive of such an event, he struck him several times; reproaching him for his criminal negligence of his sovereign's interest, and for having been found in a dress so unworthy of a soldier.

A gentleman of condition with whom I have formed a degree of intimacy during my short stay, who is equally a man of letters and of urbanity, has related to me an anecdote respecting his own family, which

### 308 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

I shall give you, as nearly as possible, in his exact words. I thought it very interesting, and very singular. “ My mother,” said he, “ and her elder sister, were both natives “ of Livonia, and became captives to the “ Czar, when this city was taken. They “ were sold as such to the Russians, and “ were carried by the conquerors into the “ interior parts of the empire, south of Mos- “ cow. Fortune had not even allied the “ two prisoners in this state of exile ; nor “ did the one know to what master the “ other belonged. In this situation, as “ a slave, my mother remained two years ; “ at the end of which time she fortu- “ nately found her elder sister, whose “ fate had been much more mild : a Boy- “ ard, or noble, captivated with her person, “ married her, and had raised her to a “ state of affluence and power. This influ- “ ence she immediately employed in order “ to rescue her sister ; and under her pro- “ tection my mother remained, till the in- “ tercession of the empress Catherine, who

“ was originally a Livonian villager, procured permission for all the banished natives to return, and even the restitution of their houses, effects, and fortunes. The imperial edict inducing my mother to quit the asylum that she had found in Russia, she returned again to Narva. I need not remind you, that the great Prince Menzikoff, whose genius and merit raised him, as is asserted, from the station of a pastry-cook’s boy, to the highest employments under Peter the first, was afterwards banished to Siberia under Peter the second; when all his estates were confiscated. The Boyard who had married my aunt, being one of his immediate dependants, and having the superintendence of his lands: was involved in the ruin of the prince, and of course became reduced to a state of extreme distress. His wife fled immediately to her younger sister for refuge, who had now an opportunity to retaliate the benefits that she had formerly received, and to extend that protection which she once  
“ had



“ had wanted. My aunt, whom I well re-  
 “ member, is dead ; but my mother is alive  
 “ at this present time, from whose mouth  
 “ I have a thousand times heard the  
 “ story, and of whose veracity there can  
 “ be no doubt. There are,” continued he,  
 “ many old persons yet surviving, who re-  
 “ member the battle of Narva, and among  
 “ others may be mentioned a man, whose  
 “ life was preserved by a most uncommon  
 “ circumstance. He was then an infant at the  
 “ breast, only about a twelvemonth old.  
 “ Some Muscovite soldiers, with merciless  
 “ barbarity tore him from the nurse’s arms,  
 “ and throwing him against a wall, left  
 “ him bleeding, and as they apprehended  
 “ dead. The woman, however, attached  
 “ to the child, returned, by her care reco-  
 “ vered him, and he too is still alive.”

I passed the greater part of yesterday, at  
 the mouth of the river of Narva, which is  
 about eight miles from the city. The wea-  
 ther, which was beautiful, tempted us to  
 sail upon the gulf of Finland. Ships of  
 considerable burden are compelled to lie  
 in

in the road, there being very little water on the bar; though after passing it, the river itself continues deep, quite up to the town. It empties itself into the great Peipus Lake, about forty miles south of Narva. Beyond this lake is situate the city of Pleskow in Muscovy, which supplies Narva with the deals and hemp, that form almost the sole articles of it's commerce, and are brought here by the Peipus. On the other side of the river, opposite the town, stands a large suburb, with an antient Muscovite fortress called Ivanogorod, built by the famous Czar, Ivan Basilowitz; who, if I recollect right, was a contemporary of our Elizabeth, and made a treaty of commerce with the English, under her reign. These were the frontier garisons of the Swedish and Russian territory, for a long series of years, the river forming the boundary between the two states.

The same gentleman whom I have already mentioned, has informed me of some particulars relative to the history and antiquity of Narva. It was founded by Wal-

### 312 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

demar the first, king of Denmark, whose original charter they yet keep among the archives of the city, and preserve with great care. By one of the succeeding Danish sovereigns it was sold to the Teutonic knights, from whom Sigismund, king of Sweden and Poland took it, about the conclusion of the sixteenth century. Under the kings of Sweden it afterwards permanently remained, who granted it peculiar immunities and privileges, all of which Peter confirmed when it changed masters, and became a portion of the Russian empire.

I had the pleasure to dine yesterday, in company with four ladies, who were all habited in the Livonian dress. Nothing could more aptly realize that barbarous splendor which has been so frequently depicted, but, which is now so rarely to be seen in any parts of Europe. It was expensive, and might have been worn by persons of the first eminence, without degradation of their rank. Their heads were covered with complete bonnets of pearls, each of which were

not

not worth less than two thousand rubles ; or, four hundred pounds sterling ; and round their necks were several strings of the same costly ornaments. A part of their necks was left exposed ; but the lower part, towards the bosom, was concealed by a vest of red silk that sat close to the breast, bordered with a gold lace of a vast breadth, which descended to their feet. Their arms had no other covering than the loose sleeves of their shifts ; and when they walked out, they threw over their heads and shoulders a piece of silk resembling a Highland plaid, which formed a sort of substitute for our capuchin. As a proof of the justice of my remark in a former letter, on the early maturity to which women attain in these northern countries, I cannot forget to mention, that one of these four ladies had been married six months, though she is now only twelve years and a half old ; nor is this an uncommon, or unprecedented circumstance.

I am now going to dine about a mile out of Narva, at a gentleman's seat close to the  
falls

**314 NORTHERN COUNTRIES**

falls on the river. In the afternoon I shall continue my journey, towards Riga, and may, it is not improbable, finish this letter in some part of Livonia.

Riga,

Monday, 8th August, 1774.

It is a beautiful walk of about a mile and a half, along the banks of the river above Narva, to the falls. There are two, a small island dividing the stream just at the place: I could only however see one of them, the eye not taking in both at once, as it does on the river Dahl in Sweden. If I had never viewed these last mentioned cataracts, those of Narva would have pleased me more, as they are in no respect to be placed in competition for grandeur of effect. The breadth is, indeed, greater: judging from my eye, I should suppose them near, or quite, one hundred and thirty yards across; but the fall is only eighteen or nineteen feet. Yet even here, the roar of the water when quite close, the mist flying up over it, and the surrounding objects, which are very picturesque, affect the mind with a pleasing astonishment,

astonishment, and detain the spectator in voluntary bondage.

It was six in the evening before I returned to the town, and pursued my journey.—The first stage lies entirely over the plains which the Muscovites occupied, on the famous day when Charles the twelfth defeated them. From thence, the road quitting the shore of the Gulf of Finland, turns inland; and on Monday evening I found myself at the edge of the Peipus Lake, along whose borders I drove through deep sands, for several miles. Night closed in as I reached Ninall, a little village washed by its waves, and very delightfully situated. From Ninall I had only between forty and fifty miles to Derpt, where I got next morning to breakfast. This place, which is rather a large, straggling, ill-built village, than a town, was formerly, when Livonia belonged to Sweden, of considerable importance, having been fortified, and a frontier garrison on the side of Muscovy. It is situate in the most fertile and beautiful part of the province,

vince, on a small river which communicates with the Peipus Lake, and surrounded with harvests, which at this season of the year are waving in all the pride of plenty.

Just above the town, on an eminence, from whence the eye commands all the vale, stand the ruins of an abbey or cathedral, which the Russians are at present employed in totally demolishing. Its situation, which is very eligible in a military light, has induced them to commit this outrage on the venerable remains of piety and magnificence which the building exhibits. Posterity will see the standard wave, where the crucifix has stood, and the matin bell will be succeeded by the trumpet. He who reveres antiquity, cannot avoid deploring this change, and regretting the havoc which war, under every shape, is continually making on the productions of elegance, splendor, and art. The traditions which I was able to collect relative to this structure, from the inhabitants of the town, were very vague and unsatisfactory. "The Teutonic knights, the first reformers, conquerors, and Lords of Livonia,



Livonia, were," they said, "the reputed founders of it: the Russians and Poles, in their different incursions, had injured and defaced it; and in one of these irruptions, the citizens of Derpt, who had fled to it for sanctuary, and vainly hoped for protection in it, had all been massacred."

I pursued my route in the afternoon, through one of the most fertile plains which can be conceived: this beautiful vale terminated about forty miles from Derpt. As evening drew on, I entered a thick wood of fir and birch trees, the boughs of which hardly permitted the carriage to pass under them; the sand was almost up to the axletree of the chaise; and the night was extremely dark, accompanied with wind and rain. About one o'clock in the morning I arrived at a solitary post-house, built in the midst of the wood; and as I was determined to wait the return of day, I lay down in my clothes; the fatigue of the two preceding nights, during which I had taken no rest, except in the carriage, having made some repose necessary. The same  
groves,

groves, or rather forests, continued almost the whole ensuing day. In the evening I reached Wolmar, a little town which was formerly fortified, and where are yet remaining the walls of a castle constructed by the Swedes. From Wolmar I had only about eighty miles to the city of Riga; but, on account of the difficulty of obtaining post-horses, and the impediments arising from the depth of the sands in many parts, it was Friday morning when I terminated my journey across Livonia. The distance from Narva to Riga, exceeds three hundred English miles.

My stay in this city has been rather regulated by inclination, than strictly proportioned to the number of objects it presents, either of amusement, or instruction. It would be difficult to have found a spot more destitute of any natural beauties or advantages, in which to induce an adventurer to fix, than is the situation of Riga. Deep, barren sands invest it round on every side; and a traveller who regulated his  
ideas

### 320 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

ideas of the province, by that part of it which he saw here, would accuse those authors of gross imposition, who have denominated Livonia the granary of the North. It was commerce which evidently gave birth to the place, and the genius of which still protects and enriches it. The river Duna is an inexhaustible source of plenty, and amply makes amends for every other deficiency. It runs a vast length through the interior parts of Poland, and conveys down all the articles of trade exported from hence, to various countries of Europe. Timber is one of the chief commodities; and I am assured that many of the largest trees do not arrive in Riga, within less than two years after the time of their being felled; as they are cut near Bender, on the banks of the Niester, from whence they are drawn over the snows in winter to the Duna, and floated down the stream in the ensuing season. In May and June the Poles usually arrive, and return again before the end of July: at present there are very few of them remaining here.

The

The bridge laid over the river, is one of the most singular and surprizing in Europe : it is nine hundred paces long, and far exceeds in length that at Rouen, or any bridge I have seen elsewhere. I am so imperfect a judge of every thing which depends, however remotely, on principles of mechanism, that I shall not attempt minutely to describe its construction. It consists of transverse beams of timber joined together, and rises or falls with the tide. In spring, as soon as the Duna is quite free from ice, they build it ; and it is removed before the frost sets in, which happens commonly in November. The distance is only about nine or ten English miles to Dunamunde, at the mouth of the river, where it empties itself into the Baltic ; and on the southern side, three miles below the town, is the place where Charles the twelfth routed the Saxons, as he had first done the Russians before Narva. A high bank of sand is now collected, and possesses the ground where the action happened, under

Y                      which

which are still frequently found skulls and human bones.

The city of Riga itself, is a most disagreeable one; the buildings being crowded together, and surrounded by fortifications which prevent a possibility of alteration, or amendment in this respect. The houses are all high, and the streets very narrow, very ill paved, and very dirty. The suburbs are as large as the place itself, and are chiefly possessed by native Russians; the municipal privileges of Riga, which are rigidly maintained, excluding them from the capacity of exercising any trade within it's walls. There are about eight thousand inhabitants in the city, and as many in the suburbs. The commerce carried on from this port, must necessarily be prodigious, since they usually reckon the number of ships which come annually to load, as great as there are houses in Riga, which is about eight hundred; and in the year 1772 they had one thousand and thirty vessels from various parts

parts of Europe. Its pretences to antiquity are pretty high: it is said, that when the Teutonic knights, about the year 1300, came to conquer and reform the pagan inhabitants of the province, they found some merchants from Bremen, who had already settled on the bank of the Duna, and had erected Riga, induced by the advantages it tendered to commerce. I believe that this tradition is well founded.

If kindness and hospitality had power to detain me here, I know not when I should be able to effect my escape from Riga: but as the season advances rapidly, I purpose to leave it early to-morrow morning, in my way to Mittaw, the residence of the duke of Courland, and capital of that dutchy, which is only at an inconsiderable distance from hence. It is my intention to make a short stay at Mittaw, if the Court is not absent. While I am writing, a courier has arrived from Petersburg, bringing a letter written with the empress's own hand to the governor, informing him, that a most

**324    NORTHERN COUNTRIES**

honorable and advantageous peace is concluded with the Turks. Never did any event take place at a more critical juncture for the empress, and the empire. You may imagine what an universal joy this news diffuses, as it may be fully credited.

## LETTER XIII.

Mittaw,

Thursday, 11th August 1774.

IT is a very pleasant and agreeable drive of four hours, from Riga to this place, the distance being about thirty miles: the dominions of Russia divide from those of Courland, nearly at the mid-way. I arrived here Tuesday morning. At the entrance of the town I met his highness the duke, who was on horseback with a small train, and had just returned from hunting. Baron Klopman, the Marshal of his court, presented me to him yesterday. He treated me with great politeness, and placed me on his left hand at dinner, the duchess dowager of Courland, his mother, sitting on his right. Though old and wrinkled, her faculties seem to have suffered no diminution; and it was impossible not to look at her with some interest, when I reflected that she was the widow of the famous Biren, who governed Russia



under the empress Anne ; that she had accompanied her husband in his exile to Siberia ; and had returned from thence after a long banishment to pass the evening of her life in a dignified repose at Mittaw. The duke did me the honour to shew me in person, the apartments of the palace, and several curiosities which he has collected. Our discourse at table involuntarily ran on the happy news just received, of the peace concluded with the Turks, all the articles of which he recounted to me ; as he had just received the particulars in a letter from his sister, the princess of Courland, who is married to a Russian nobleman, and resides at St. Petersburg. It seems as if Romanzoff had exactly reversed the memorable campaign on the banks of the Pruth, sixty-three years ago ; where Peter the first was necessitated to submit to the Vizier's terms, and to make an inglorious peace, in order to preserve his army from total destruction. I remarked this circumstance to the duke, who perfectly agreed in sentiment with me.

His

His highness expressed many times, the high esteem which he entertained for the English nation : “ and as a proof,” said he, “ of the antient alliances subsisting between us, I have now among the archives of the dutchy, several treaties of friendship, not only from your kings, but even from the famous protector Cromwell.” The duke was personally acquainted with the late Lord Baltimore, who passed some days at Mittaw, during his father’s reign ; and he assured me, that he himself had often intended, and yet hoped, to visit England. He was good enough to invite me to one of his country palaces at Ruhendahl, about twenty miles from hence, situate, as he said, in a beautiful part of Courland ; but, as my time did not permit, I was obliged to decline this favour. When taking leave, I told him, that I hoped to have next the honor of paying my respects to him in England ; but if not, that I should never pass through Mittaw, without acknowledging the obligations under which his goodness had laid me on my present visit.

As this little sovereignty and its history are not generally known in the west of Europe, I make no doubt that it will be entertaining to you, to be made acquainted with them : particularly as I have received my information from Baron Klopman, who is a native and a resident of the dutchy, as well as a man of letters. Some particulars I have derived from the duke himself.

Courland, as well as Livonia, antiently belonged to the Teutonic knights ; but in the year 1461, the grand master of that order, having seized on, or secularized the province, became the first duke : he was a nobleman of the name of Ketler, and in his family the dignity continued, till the line terminated in the person of Ferdinand, who fought gallantly against Charles the twelfth, at the battle of the Duna ; and who afterwards resided at Dantzic, in a kind of exile from his dominions, deprived of his inheritance. His predecessor, the young duke Frederic, had been married to Anne, daughter of Ivan, elder brother of Peter the Great, which princess afterwards ascended the

the Russian throne. Frederic only survived his nuptials about six weeks, being carried off in the bloom of life, by a violent fever. But his widow, nevertheless, retained possession of the government of Courland, to the exclusion of Ferdinand, the rightful heir, till the death of Peter the Second, in 1730, when she was called to the throne of the Russian empire, by the influence of a faction. This event obliged her to leave Mitaw, and to return to Petersburgh ; but her power, far from being diminished, was rather augmented in consequence of her elevation. On the death of the expelled duke without issue, she raised her favourite Biren to the sovereignty of the dutchy ; though the famous Marshal Count Saxe, natural son of Augustus the second, king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, had been previously chosen by the nobility, or states of Courland, and endeavoured to make some resistance.

I need not remind you that Biren was for many years the first minister of the empress Anne,

Anne, and possessed the most unbounded influence over his mistress, as well as over her subjects. Far from being of a noble extraction, his father occupied a very mean station under the Ketlers; having, as is generally asserted, been employed in the stables of the dukes of Courland, as an inferior attendant: but his genius, and the favor of the empress Anne, elevated him to the highest dignities. That princess left him in effect, regent of Russia at her death, under the infant emperor Ivan; an office which he held only fifteen days, and from the possession of which he was sent into banishment, by Elizabeth, when she ascended the Russian throne. Biren was transported first into Siberia; but, by a subsequent mitigation of the punishment, he and his family were transferred to Jaroslaw, a town only about three hundred miles beyond Moscow. There he remained till the late empress Elizabeth's death, in 1762, when Peter the third once more recalled him, after an exile  
of

of one and twenty years, and reinstated him in his honours and dominions.

During his disgrace, and the Interregnum which took place, Courland was governed for a considerable time, by the four great officers of state, who preside over the different departments of the dutchy, according to its political constitution. But, towards the close of the empress Elizabeth's reign, she induced, or compelled the states to elect for their sovereign, Prince Charles of Saxony, third son of the late king of Poland, Augustus the third. He was invested with this precarious dignity, which he held about three years, when the change of sovereign in Russia, obliged him again to evacuate it. Thus, by a singular caprice of Fortune, the electoral house of Saxony has twice, in the course of the present century, seen princes, either natural, or legitimate, of their blood, raised to the sovereignty of this beautiful dutchy ; and as often expelled, after a short and ineffectual possession. Biren, the late duke, whose life was chequered with such  
extraordinary

extraordinary changes, died only two years ago, when upwards of eighty years of age, and transmitted the inheritance in quiet succession to his son, the present prince. His highness the reigning duke, is at this time about fifty years old : having been divorced from his first wife, a German princess of the house of Waldeck, he was lately married to a Russian lay.

The duke can only be properly considered as the first person in the state, his power not extending in any degree over the nobility ; who may almost be esteemed his equals, or at least as independent of his authority. They pay him no taxes or duties of whatever nature, and are absolute lords on their own estates, having power of life and death over their vassals.—Courland continues nominally to be still a fief of the crown and republic of Poland : as such, his present highness did homage, in his father's name, and in his own, to Stanislaus, the reigning king, on his accession, at Warsaw. The dutchy which is sixty-three German miles in length, and  
twenty-six

twenty-six in breadth, is exceedingly fertile, particularly in grain, which is principally exported from the port of Libau, situate on the Baltic: the duties raised upon this article, added to the income of his own patrimonial estates, constitute the principal sources of his revenue. They seldom fall short of four hundred thousand dollars, or near seventy thousand pounds sterling; and amount sometimes to almost double the sum, as the price of grain determines it in a great measure.

The duke maintains five hundred guards, chiefly for parade; though it is only about two years ago, as he informed me, that the confederates of Poland were then in arms against Catherine the second, advanced within a single German mile of Ruhendhal, with four thousand men; but they retired, on the preparations which he made for defence. He informed me, likewise that the antient residence of the dukes of Courland, was at Goldingen; a town near sixty English miles distant from hence, where are still seen the ruins of a palace which belonged



belonged to those princes. The present palace at Mittaw, which was begun by the late duke before his banishment into Siberia, and continued by him on his return to his dominions, is not yet quite finished in the inside. The plan and dimensions may be pronounced too magnificent for a sovereign of such limited territories; though, as he maintains neither a military, nor a naval armament, he may with œconomy, amass great sums of money. It's situation is very agreeable, on a small eminence just without the town, and washed by the river Aá, which is pretty broad, and winds most delightfully through the meadows that surround it on all sides. The country is mostly flat, finely wooded, and resembles exceedingly some parts of England. The river is navigable to Riga, for small boats; and as there are always a number of these vessels going and returning, the view of the sails apparently moving over the fields, is extremely picturesque. I have not seen a more soft and elegant landscape in the north of Europe, than presents itself from the different balconies of the palace.

The

The town of Mittaw is not very antient ; a private gentleman of Courland having founded it, in the year 1426. It occupies at least as much ground as Riga ; but as the streets are more spacious, and the buildings irregularly scattered, it cannot be regarded by any means as equal in size : the inhabitants are only between three and four thousand. Most of the houses, unlike those of Riga, are composed of wood, and very mean in their appearance. Mittaw is wretchedly paved ; and a circumstance which is still more singular, the nobles have opposed and prevented the duke's intention to repair this defect, from motives of caprice and obstinacy. It is difficult to state a stronger proof, either of their barbarous adherence to antient abuses and usages ; or of their complete power to controul, and to counteract the pleasure of the nominal sovereign, even when most beneficially exerted for the general welfare. Mittaw thus remains almost impassable, except in a carriage. The duke, by the terms of the constitution

### 336 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

constitution, is obliged to summon a diet, composed entirely of the nobles, once in two years, which enacts laws, and redresses grievances: he presides over, but has little influence or authority in the assembly.

This dutchy is, in fact, an exact resemblance of Poland in miniature: the same limitation of the sovereign authority, which is reduced almost to a name; the same aristocracy, the same turbulence, the same political evils exist in both countries. If the reigning duke should have male issue by his present marriage, it is probable that Russia will preserve the inheritance in the Biren family, as they are the creatures of it's own production, and entirely dependent on it for support; but, on the supposition of a contrary event, the fate of Courland must be considered as very precarious. Poland, it's antient feudal protector, is already dismembered and divided. Prussia invests it on one side; between which kingdom, and the empire of Muscovy, this little province may undergo the fate of it's parent state, from the  
the

the ambition and avidity of one, or of the other monarch. The rights of humanity, of justice, and of liberty, have been so trampled on, and despised, in the late partition of Poland, that no future action of a similar nature can surprize in the present age.

The duke, who is still in the vigor of life, and of a robust frame, as well as constitution, has given many proofs of his desire to improve the condition of his capital and his subjects. As a protector of the polite arts, and a lover of letters, he has lately begun the construction of an academy in Mittaw, which is almost completed; where professors will be entertained at his own expence, for the instruction of the young nobility and persons of condition in the dutchy. This foundation is very laudable, and does him great honor.

I am vastly pleased with the environs of this city, as well as with the obliging reception that I have experienced, which would tempt me to make a longer stay if my time

Z

permitted

permitted.—The duke hunts frequently, particularly wolves, and kills often six or seven in a morning. I could wish to have the honor to accompany him on this diversion, which must, I imagine, be very amusing. The post-horn sounds, and warns me to conclude my letter. In two hours I shall set out for Memel; but as my stay there will not exceed a day, you may probably not hear again from me, before my arrival at the capital of Prussia. From Königsberg I shall write you.

## LETTER XIV.

Koningsberg,

Thursday, 18th August, 1774.

I LEFT Mittaw this day sevensnight, about noon, and reached Frawenburg, a little village fifty miles distant, before midnight. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the country through which I passed: wide extended plains, which a week or two before had been covered with harvests, and on which the sheaves of corn were still standing, impressed the traveller with ideas of plenty and happiness. The appearance of every thing seemed to justify and corroborate a remark which the duke had made to me, speaking of Courland; that neither in the archives of the dutchy, nor in the oldest traditions, is there ever any mention of a famine having taken place: a circumstance that deposes not less strongly in favor of the industry of the inhabitants,

2 2

than

than of the exuberance of the soil. Nature has been uncommonly bounteous to them, and that epithet of "the Sicily of the north," usually attributed to Livonia, belongs with more justice to this province; the products of which being antiently all exported from Riga, gave birth to the received opinion.

It is difficult to conceive a greater contrast than is presented by the three provinces of Ingria, Livonia, and Courland, as opposed to those of Finland, Nyland, and Carelia. Sterility characterizes the latter, as fertility does the former tract of country. When we reflect that at the period of Charles the twelfth's accession to the throne in 1697, Ingria, and Livonia belonged to Sweden; and that Courland must have been nearly as dependent at that time on the Swedish crown, as it is now on the Russian; we may in some measure appreciate the magnitude of the losses and calamities, which Charles's insatiable thirst of glory, and passion for war, entailed upon his country. Yet

these losses, great as they were, formed only a part of the defalcations of territory, population, and revenue, which Sweden suffered under his reign. She fell, in fact, from the first, and preponderating power of the north, to a state of the second order.

I continued my journey very early in the morning, having lain down more from a desire not to lose any part of the landscape and prospects which presented themselves, than from fatigue, or want of rest. I was amply repaid for this short delay, by a continuation of the same scene. I passed, it is true, through several woods of great extent; but there was nothing savage or sombre in them. Oaks, aspens, osiers, larch, and nut trees, composed them: under the shelter of this variegated shade, I dined on some cold provisions that I had brought with me; while the servant procured me a desert of nuts from the boughs over my head, which were loaded with them. Gil-Blas never dined more to his satisfaction, in the groves of Leon or Castile, than I did



in those of Courland. I stopped again during the middle of the night, at a little hamlet, where the post-house was situate. As I approached the borders, it must however be owned, both the population and the fertility of the soil diminished. Very deep and gloomy forests, of twenty English miles in length, which only afford shelter to wolves and bears, formed a striking contrast to the rich vales that I had just left; and set off by opposition, those parts in which industry and agriculture had improved the original bounty of nature.

I reached the frontier of the dutchy on Saturday morning, and crossing a rivulet over a wooden bridge, entered the dominions of Poland. This angle, or corner of Lithuania, which here is only twelve or thirteen miles in breadth, separates the kingdom of Prussia from Courland. I was stopped at Polangen, a miserable Polish town, and had the honor to be searched at a kind of customhouse, in the name of King Stanislaus. The place itself is situate  
at

at an inconsiderable distance from the shore of the Baltic, and is remarkable for the quantities of amber collected near it, which forms their only branch of commerce, At two English miles from Polangen, stands the black Eagle of Prussia, and in the afternoon I got to Memel, the first town in his Prussian majesty's dominions; where I was obliged once more to undergo the ceremony of a search, which was conducted likewise with greater severity than it had been in Poland; most rigorous penalties being annexed to the introduction of any prohibited articles, however small in quantity, into the kingdom.

As I intended to make a short stay in Memel, I had provided myself with letters of introduction to a principal commercial house there. The kind hospitality that I had experienced at Narva, and the friendly politeness shewn me at Riga, had preposessed me with a favorable idea of my reception in this place; and some inducements of another nature, which I will men-

tion hereafter, adding weight to the first ; I lost not a minute on my arrival, in preparing myself to wait on the persons to whom my recommendations were addressed. I took rather greater care than common, in the little adjustments necessary on these occasions : I put on a suit of clothes which was more than decent : a pair of worked ruffles, and some powder thrown into my hair, made me, I thought, very smart as a traveller ; and thus habited, I sallied out. It was near seven in the evening, and had been a very rainy day : I took the opportunity of a short suspension of the storms, and tripped nimbly along the streets, preceded by a girl without shoes or stockings, who was sent to shew me the way.

When we came to the house, my ragged conductress opened the street door without ceremony ; and running up a pair of stairs, threw open another door into an apartment, where she left me, and retired with as much precipitation as she had entered.

I stepped

I stepped in. If the desks and book-cases, which surrounded near three sides of this room, had not declared it to be a compting-house, I should most certainly have mistaken it for a cock-loft. The casements were so completely covered with a crust of opaque matter, that no objects were distinctly visible through them; and the rays of light, which were very imperfectly admitted at any time, were more particularly intercepted at the hour when I made my appearance. Two black ill-looking figures, who by their countenances and complexions might have passed for genuine descendants of Abraham in a right line, started up at the same moment, like Automatons actuated by springs; and seemed by their regards, to demand the cause of so abrupt an entrance on my part: they appeared to be about fifty years of age, and were both dressed in deep mourning and weepers. I must own that the manner of my entrance into this strange apartment, when added to the funereal aspect of its owners, rather disconcerted me: taking,  
however,

however, my credentials from my pocket, I presented them to him who stood next me. "I have not the honor, gentlemen," said I, "to be personally known to you: these letters serve to introduce me to your acquaintance, and to recommend me to your good offices: they are, as you will find, from Riga, which place I left only a few days since." This short speech produced a low bow from both; and while one perused the letters, the other desired me to be seated on a stool, which had once been covered with leather; but, time having eaten it all away, the horse-hair which composed the stuffing, supplied its place: it was indeed, a piece of furniture perfectly in unison with every thing else in the room.

I complied with the invitation, and amused myself by looking round me, while the two brothers were engaged with the letters. "*Ist die heer ein Kauffmann?*" said the second, stretching out his head with a look of ignorance and curiosity. "*Ich weiss nicht,*" answered the other, shaking his head in turn. "Gentlemen," said I, "though

I, "though I am not so happy as to speak German, I understand somewhat of the language: the motives which induce me to travel, are those of knowledge and improvement: I have made almost the tour of the north of Europe, this summer; and my stay here, as in every other place I visit, is chiefly determined by the objects which it presents of instruction and liberal entertainment." "We apprehended," answered the first, that "you might be come to our fair, which will begin on Monday: you have heard of Memel fair, to be sure; if you want any goods, our clerks shall shew you the way, and get them for you." "I am fortunately," said I, "not in want of any goods, except a few amber toys to give away in England; and I am told, this is the properest place in the world to procure them." "I don't know," replied he; "if indeed you only want a few toys, the landlord of the inn where you lodge, can supply you as well as any one; but if you would purchase amber in the gross, the town of Polangen, which you came thro', was the proper

proper place. It belongs to the crown of Poland at this time; but we are in great hopes that *our king* will ere long get hold of it; as soon as matters are settled at Warsaw; and then, you know, we shall have all the amber trade in our own hands." Unhappy Stanislaus! thought I; how little do the considerations of equity and honor weigh against those of interest; and how unfeelingly would these avaricious tradesmen see the poor remains of thy dismembered kingdom, sequestered into other hands!

"The trade of Memel is notwithstanding," resumed I, "pretty extensive at this time; is it not?" "Indifferent," said he: "there are only four commercial houses who divide it: we export a great deal of timber, which is brought down the river Russe, from the interior parts of Lithuania, and conveyed here in boats: we deal too, pretty largely in hemp, flax, and linseed: five hundred ships were laden here last year, with these articles; and as many more might have been laden this season, if the water

water on the bar was not so much decreased lately. There were eighteen feet, and now there are only fifteen; a melancholy circumstance for us!" "And why," said I, "have you not remonstrated to his majesty of Prussia? A sovereign so wise, so attentive to every branch of the revenue, who inspects himself into all the departments of policy, and is his own minister, would no doubt interest himself warmly in the removal of every obstacle which injured, or diminished your trade." "We have not found that," replied he: "remonstrances have been presented to the king, and orders given in consequence; but they are not executed; his majesty is a great man; but Berlin is very distant; and this is a frontier of the kingdom." I asked if there were any objects of curiosity at Memel. "There is not any thing that I know of," said the second brother, "except a pot-ash manufactory, and you may see a better one at Dantzic: the ships at the quay are our finest sight." I turned the discourse, in  
the



the intention of prolonging the time, on the siege of Memel in the late war, of which they gave me some account, having resided there at the time. Only six hundred Prussian invalids held it out four days, against an army of fifty thousand Russians; after which resistance they obtained a capitulation, and marched out with all the honors of war.

I had now exhausted every topic of conversation: it was become so very dark, that I could hardly distinguish any parts of my companions, except their noses and their weepers: they had not given me an invitation, either to supper, or to dinner next day: the gloom increased every moment, while darkness and silence were drawing their mantle over us.—In a word, I found that I must go; so rising up, I made my bow, and wished them a good night. I returned home, half mortified at my unsuccessful visit. You will suppose that there was some concealed motive, which influenced me so warmly to attempt, and so long to perse-

vere

vere in the design, of cultivating the acquaintance of two such men. There was; I avow it. I had been informed before my arrival, that one of them had for his wife a lady, whose person as well as manners were eminently attractive; and the hope of being introduced to her, had alone prompted my behaviour, and regulated my conduct during this interview. I should have esteemed the company and conversation of such a woman, more than an adequate compensation for the previous penance. As I was not lucky enough however, to enjoy this advantage, I made the best of my condition, and drank Mademoiselle de Treiden's health at my solitary supper, in a glass of Rhenish, which was tolerably good. Who Mademoiselle de Treiden is, I never yet told you; she is very young, very pretty, and very good-natured; if you would know more of her, she lives at Mittaw, and is a maid of honour to the duchess of Courland.

I ordered post-horses for Koningsberg, at noon next day, and walked out in the morning,

morning, to look at the town of Memel. The ladies were picking out their way through the dirtiest, vilest streets, that it is possible to conceive, in negligees and white satin shoes; while the gentlemen were gallanting them to church, for it was Sunday, in blue velvet coats, and vast Kevenhuller hats. . . . There were some exquisite figures among them. . . . Leonardo da Vinci would have fallen to work with his pencil in a minute, if he had been there. . . . It was a most laughable scene. There is not, indeed, as it appears to me, any thing in this place; to detain a man of curiosity, for two hours: the buildings are very wretched; and as my friend said in the counting-house, I think "the ships at the quay, are the finest sight in Memel."

From hence to Koningsberg there are two roads. The one, more circuitous, passes through the interior of the country: the other, which is much shorter, and more frequented, lies over a spit, or narrow tract of sand, about eighty-three miles in length, and

and not more than a single one in breadth, in many places: in none does it exceed three. This extraordinary bank of sand terminates a little to the northward of the town of Memel, from which it is separated by a haven of near half a mile in breadth, communicating with the Baltic. When the weather is fine, and the sea smooth, one may drive along the bank with great pleasure, as the sands close to the margin of the water are hard and firm. Unhappily for me, it not only blew very violently but the wind being westerly, drove the waves a long way higher up on the beach than usual. Having crossed the haven of Memel in a boat, I landed on the sand about two in the afternoon, and reached the first post-house as night closed in. A more disagreeable one I hardly ever remember: it not only rained without intermission, but the wind, which had increased the whole day, blew a hurricane. The sea being driven by its fury a long way beyond the usual bounds, necessitated the postillions to drive through the very surf, which many times completely

A A

covered

covered the fore-wheels of the carriage, and roared like thunder in my ears. In such a situation I could not take much repose, and more than once apprehended that I should have been inevitably overturned into the sea; the side of the little sand-hills which bound the shore being so shelving and steep, that it was with the utmost precaution and care the carriage was prevented from turning over, and precipitating me into the waves.

Morning came most welcome after such a night, and about eight o'clock I got to a miserable nasty hovel, called an inn, where I found the poor inhabitants employed in boiling pumpkins, which appeared to be one chief article of their food. Never was misery more truly personified. The women looked like witches, rather than human creatures, without any sort of head-dress except their hair, and scarce covered with cloaths to the knees. Here, among horses, in a large stable, I procured some breakfast, and drank my coffee. I reached the southern termination of the sand, where it joins the continent of Prussia,

about noon ; and gladly found myself once more on firm ground, after having travelled for two-and-twenty hours along the shore of the Baltic, and often among it's very waves. It is about twenty miles to Konigsberg from hence, through a flat, but an inclosed and cultivated country. I passed almost under the very wheels where the bodies of four malefactors lately executed, are still remaining. I averted my eyes with horror from this spectacle, which presents itself to the view at only a quarter of a mile from the city. On arriving, I was stopped at the gates. After the officer on guard had inspected my pass, a soldier with his bayonet fixed, mounted the coach-box ; and the postillion blowing his horn, as if to announce the event, I was conducted like a prisoner of state, through a number of streets, to the custom-house. There I underwent another search *à la Prussienne*, and was then permitted to drive to an inn.

I shall not quit this place before to-morrow evening, and even then it will be with reluctance. Fortune, who usually dispenses

her favors with caprice, has made me here ample amends for my disappointment at Memel. . . . A gentleman of rank, with whom I became acquainted the day of my arrival, did me the honor to invite me to a ball on the ensuing evening, at his own house. I went about six o'clock : it was a beautiful day, and the ladies were seated under an arbour in the garden, while a band of music played. He presented me to them all without distinction, leaving to my own taste or feelings where to give the preference. In this situation, it was not her beauty which drew me to the particular object of my choice, though in that endowment it appeared to me that nature had given her the superiority above any other person present. Shall I say it was chance merely then ; a fortuitous contingency, in which no higher and better influence mingled itself ? Or, are there not some secret and unknown causes, either mental or corporeal, which attract by a subtle and irresistible sympathy those, whom congeniality of disposition has formed to give, and to receive, a mutual pleasure ? Let this

be as it may; however uncertain the cause, I felt the effect. The passions of the heart depend not on the deductions of the understanding, and admiration or attachment may be experienced, without defining its nature.

Her person was slender, and formed with symmetry: delicacy, mingled with langour, was it's chief characteristic. This quality was not confined to any particular attitude, feature, or look; it was diffused all over her, and might be as perceptibly discerned in the movement of her hand, as in the changes of her eye. Time had not taken any thing from the natural loveliness of her countenance; though sickness had tinged her cheek with paleness, without diminishing it's charms. She was born at Berlin, but of French extraction. Her knowledge of this last language, was only equalled by her acquaintance with the Italian. She read Tasso and Boileau with equal ease. Guarini might have listened with as much pleasure as I did, while she repeated his "*O Primo-*



*vera, Gioventu del Anno.*—Her health did not permit her to dance; but she recommended to me her friend, a young lady very amiable, if I could have found any person so besides herself. Music had no attractions for me, unless of a secondary nature, which it derived from her; nor could dancing animate my mind, though it might my body. I soon returned to the happiness of sitting beside her, of regarding every alteration in her face, and attending to her conversation. She was not insensible to this species of homage, more truly flattering than a volume of compliments; and was one of the few women I have met with, who know that love has no alliance with loquacity. She invited me to teach her English, and promised in return to be my preceptress in German. “Now and then,” added she, “we may recur, for a superior entertainment, to the *Pastor Fido*, or the *Gierusalemme*. Why cannot I accept this invitation? why not profit of such a tutress? Can I have a better one, if I  
wander

wander through every circle of the empire? The very genius of the language would appear different, when she deigned to instruct me in it; and all its asperities would be softened, in passing through such a medium. What may come, I know not: "Hope springs eternal in the human breast:" but at this time, insuperable obstacles preclude the possibility of my stay in Königsberg.

This is a vast city: I do not believe that it is less than Copenhagen; and it contains fifty thousand inhabitants, exclusive of eight thousand soldiers: but it is a great collection of houses and streets without elegance, beauty, or order: the buildings are in a vile taste, and mostly antique. Here is, indeed, an academy, founded by one of the first dukes of Prussia; but our grammar-schools in England, are in general superior to it in all respects. A professor shewed me the library, and other apartments: there is nothing much worth inspecting, except the original safe conduct given by Charles the fifth to Martin Luther, when he attended the diet

### 360 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

of Worms in 1521, signed by the emperor's hand: this document merits preservation, and is beheld with interest. Königsberg carries on a considerable trade in hemp and flax; but it is distant seven German miles, or thirty-five English, from Pillaw, the port situate at the mouth of the river Pregel; so that only very small vessels can come up to the town. The present king of Prussia has not shewn any predilection for this part of his dominions. He has, indeed, rather manifested an opposite sentiment, nor has he visited the city since the year 1753, though he comes annually to make a general review of the troops at Graudentz, near Marienwerder on the Vistula, not very far removed from thence. The river Pregel is narrow here but there are some very pleasant gardens stretching along it's banks. I am told, that a king of Bohemia founded Königsberg in 1255; this part of Prussia being at that time a fief or province dependent on his Bohemian kingdom. The lady whom I have already mentioned, has not formed  
the

the sole inducement to protract my stay here: the cordial and generous politeness that I have met with from an English merchant and his lady, whose names are Collins, have made me forget Memel: she is a Prussian; but few English women possess half her powers of pleasing. I am just going to supper at her house; so farewell! In a few days I hope to write you from Dantzic, to which city my course will be directed on leaving Königsberg.

## LETTER XV.

Elbing,

Monday, 22d August, 1774.

I QUITTED Königsberg Saturday morning, though not without reluctance, and pursued my journey along the banks of the river Pregel, through a fertile plain. It was one of the finest days of the season, the rays of the sun being moderated and tempered by a breeze from the water. Stopping the carriage on a rising ground, at a little distance from the town, I looked back on it's numerous spires, which were gilded by the eastern sun. The unavoidable reflexion, that I might perhaps never again see the person who had rendered Königsberg so interesting to me, dimmed for a moment the beauty of the prospect; but fancy dispersed the gloom, and presented her to my view from the highest tower in Königsberg, waving her handkerchief in the wind to bid me a last adieu. I then drove on; and  
folding

folding my arms, gave full scope to those visions of future and ideal happiness, those schemes of re-union, to which the mind of man always has recourse when oppressed by sorrow : dreams, which, though our understanding is conscious of their futility and unsubstantial nature,

“ Yet with a pleasing sorcery can charm

“ Pain for a while, or anguish, and excite

“ Fallacious hope.”——

From these reveries I was awakened by an accident which recalled me to common life. My chaise broke down in the afternoon; and as several hours were requisite to construct a new axle-tree, I was necessitated to remain in the village where the accident happened, during the rest of the day. To complete my misadventures, I lay down at night in a bed, and in an apartment, which might well have served for the original of those where Pope describes Villiers expiring, and than which imagination can hardly conceive any more miserable or gloomy.

In the morning early I proceeded, and got to Frawemburg to breakfast. This is  
a little

a little town situate in a sandy plain on the shore of the Baltic. I stopped to see the church, which has been very renowned in past ages. It stands on a hill, commanding an extensive prospect, and belonged antiently to the sovereign bishops of Ermland, who were both ecclesiastical and temporal princes, resembling the electoral archbishops of the German empire: they were appointed by the kings of Poland, being constitutionally great vassals of that crown and kingdom. Their revenues amounted to not less than thirty thousand ducats per annum, or about fourteen thousand pounds sterling, and their territories were of very considerable extent. This fief which has been considered by the king of Prussia, as belonging to him, in consequence of the late partition of Poland, has been sequestered or appropriated to his use. The present bishop, a young Polish nobleman, who was invested in the see some few years since, by Stanislaus, is said to possess the powers of insinuation in a great degree. His convivial talents in particular have ingratiated

gratiated him exceedingly with his new sovereign, who has munificently allowed him an annual pension of about six thousand ducats, or near three thousand pounds sterling, from out of the revenues of his former bishopric. On this diminished stipend he now subsists, stripped of his regalities, and residing principally at Cracow, as a private individual.

I return to the church of Frawenburg. It is of Catholic foundation, and the priests were celebrating the matin service when I entered it. As they had informed me at Konigsberg, that the immortal Copernicus was interred here, I waited with no little impatience for the conclusion of the service, in the expectation of seeing his tomb; but in this hope I was disappointed. One of the priests assured me, that though he had been a canon of the cathedral, and frequently resided at Frawenburg, his remains were buried at Thorn, the place of his nativity. They, however, still shew the apartment which belonged to Copernicus; and the canons are at this time supplied with water, by a machine of his invention,  
which



366    NORTHERN COUNTRIES

which raises it to a great height from the vale below, whence it is distributed to every part of their residence. This engine I saw; and though I am the most incompetent judge on earth, of any thing which depends on principles of hydrostatics, yet I was struck with it's great apparent simplicity. The celebrated machine of Marli, which furnishes Versailles with water, was constructed from the plan of it, by order of Louis the fourteenth.

It is not more than twenty miles from Frawemburg to this place, which I reached yesterday morning, and shall quit again this evening. Elbing was founded by a colony from Lubeck, the Tyre of the Baltic, about the year 1234. It is situate on a little river, which falls into the Baltic sea near five miles off, but which admits only very small vessels; Pillaw serving equally as the port to Konigsberg, and to Elbing. The Tuetonic knights those conquerors and reformers of the north, were lords of the city and territory, for a considerable number of years; but in 1450, the inhabitants ultimately shook

shook off the Teutonic yoke, and asserted their freedom. From this æra, we may date the splendor of it's annals. The citizens of Elbing, like those of Florence and of Pisa, in the south of Europe, became rich, powerful, and commercial; they were respected throughout all the Baltic states, and even attained to such a point of strength and elevation, as to make successful war on the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus, it is true, made himself master of Elbing; but, his premature death, and the peace of Westphalia which followed in 1648, restored them again to their liberties, and independence. Charles the twelfth entered it by assault, in the beginning of the present century, as it adhered to Augustus the second, king of Poland, his enemy; and the intrenchments of the Swedish camp are still visible, at an inconsiderable distance from the walls. In the decline of Charles's fortune, Elbing was lost to Sweden.

The city remained free since that time, under the protection of Poland, to the diet  
of

of which kingdom it sent two members, till the 13th of September, 1772. On that day his Prussian majesty's general took possession of it in the name of his master, to whom it fell on the partition of Poland; and drove out the Polish garrison of two hundred men, who attempted to make some defence. The black eagle of the house of Brandenburg has now supplanted the cross, their antient arms, and appears conspicuous over every gate of the city. They already feel the rigor and rapacity of this new government, which threatens to swallow up all Polish Prussia, and to extinguish freedom as well as commerce, in one general ruin. The city of Elbing itself contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and the architecture of the houses is the most grotesque and singular that I have any where seen in Europe. They terminate in a point, and almost all the upper stories are absolutely uninhabitable, being designed for granaries or warehouses, not for residence. An antiquary might find ample amusement in Elbing. It was formerly fortified in the Gothic

thic

this taste, and surrounded by a trench; but even these feeble ramparts are in a great measure demolished, since it has become subject to it's new sovereign.

I was permitted by particular request, to see the treasures lately discovered here, relative to which so much exaggeration has taken place in the public prints all over Europe. They are contained in three large coffers, in a vaulted apartment of the town-hall, where they had lain untouched for a number of years. There is neither any specie, nor any gold or silver coin; the whole consisting of plate, or of ornaments worn by the priests in the celebration of divine service. The exquisite delicacy of the workmanship constitutes indeed, their chief value, the intrinsic worth not exceeding twenty-five thousand crowns, or six thousand pounds sterling. The real history of the concealment of these treasures I am enabled to relate to you, having received it from the gentleman to whose care they are intrusted. When the city was taken by Gustavus Adolphus, at

an early period of the last century, he being himself a protestant, put the Lutherans into possession of the cathedral of Elbing, which previous to that event, had belonged to the catholics. Ladislaus the seventh, king of Poland, restored it to them again some years afterwards : but the pious followers of Luther found means to secrete most of the valuable effects belonging to the original proprietors, which they concealed in this obscure retreat. The secret was a dangerous one, known to few, and very well kept : but time, at the end of a hundred and fifty years, has brought the secret to light. The magistrates of Elbing wait at present to know his Prussian majesty's pleasure respecting the disposition of them ; and as he is a prince not bigotted to any particular religion or superstition, he may, perhaps, make much the same use of the plate, as Belshazzar formerly did of the vessels in the Jewish temple, by covering his sideboard with them : but the catholics hope for better things from his piety.

In

In the same chamber where these holy relics have been discovered, were likewise found several swords which unquestionably belonged to the Teutonic knights. I examined them with great attention, and am almost induced to believe that they are merely weapons of ostentation; designed, like Alexander's manglers and armor in India, of which Arrian, or Quintus Curtius speak, to impress posterity with false ideas of the personal strength and prowess of these religious warriors. The weight and dimensions of the swords are so enormous, that, though I measured one of them, I am afraid to tell you it's exact length. Nothing can be more rude and barbarous than their workmanship: two pieces of iron form the hilt, and round the gripe is a bandage of straps of leather crossed. They are really objects of admiration and curiosity. I am now just ready to set out for Marienbourg, which is only twenty miles off.—From thence I shall finish this letter.

Mariembourg,

Wednesday, 24th August, 1774.

I HAVE received so high a gratification, from the view of one of the noblest monuments of antient magnificence now remaining in Europe; the castle of Mariembourg; that I shall lose no time in describing it, while my imagination is yet warmly impressed with the sensations excited by the view of so august an edifice. To chivalry we owe this production, among many others which perpetuate that singular institution; the Teutonic knights having been it's founders. As I have so frequently made mention of the Teutonic order in my late letters, it may save you the trouble of recurring to obsolete authors, if I present you a little epitome of their origin, their greatness, and their extinction.—Folly and religious enthusiasm first gave them birth, in the ages of darkness. Europe, which then engaged in

the romantic design of rescuing the holy tomb from the hands of the Saracens, to whom it belonged; sent these squadrons of military saints, one after the other, on the same errand. They were denominated Knights Templars, Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights Teutonic: they bore to these wars of conquest and extermination, the badge of peace and concord, the cross, which they wore either on the shoulder, or on the breast. It was in the year 1191, at the time, when our Richard the first was opposing Saladine under the walls of Jerusalem, that the then reigning Pope Celestine instituted this new reinforcement to the Christian arms. The Teutonic knights were originally only forty in number; and a German nobleman, by name Henry Valpot, was appointed grand-master of the order.

Their prowess did not, however, maintain them long in Palestine, from whence they were driven out pretty early in the thirteenth century. Conrade, Duke of Mazovia, was at that time their chief, or grand-



### 374    NORTHERN COUNTRIES

master.—Under these circumstances, new measures became indispensable. War was their only profession, and enemies of some kind were absolutely requisite. Happily, the north of Europe was yet much of it unsubdued to the holy church, and wrapt in the darkness of paganism. It was consequently a most meritorious action to cut these infidels to pieces, and Pope Gregory the ninth gave his sanction to the cause. Thus authorized, Conrade led them on, and entered Prussia. Like Charlemagne, when he invaded the Saxons, some centuries earlier, they either drove out the inhabitants, or baptized them, and established themselves firmly in their new conquests. On the banks of the river Nogat, in a beautiful plain, they fixed their grand residence, and began to construct the castle of Marienbourg in 1281. The first master of the order came here to reside in the year 1309, when we may reasonably presume that it was finished. The knights becoming afterwards very powerful, conquered Samogitia; Courland,

Courland, Livonia, and other provinces: they made war with Poland; and in 1461 Marienbourg was besieged, and taken by the Poles, but restored again to the order. From this æra, however, their splendor diminished; they grew licentious and dissolute in their manners, tyrannical and oppressive in their government. In 1524 they were totally driven out of Prussia, under Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, the thirty-fourth grand-master of their order; and their power, as sovereign princes, was ultimately abolished.

The castle of Marienbourg, it is evident, consisted of three detached and separate structures; the first and most antient of which was designed apparently for defence. It was quadrangular in it's figure, surrounded by a trench of prodigious magnitude. Unfortunately, the king of Prussia has so mutilated and altered this part of the edifice, by converting it into Caserns for his soldiery since he took possession of the town, that all it's original architectural

beauty is lost ; and the antiquarian searches in vain for the genuine traces of the Teutonic magnificence, amid modern bricks and mortar. The chapel, however, Frederic has spared. There are in fact two, one beneath the other. I visited both, conducted by the catholic priest, a man of letters and politeness, to whom I am indebted for the greater part of the information that I gained relative to the structure itself. In the subterranean chapel, several grandmasters of the order have been interred, and he shewed me the stones under which repose their remains. Round them are beheld inscriptions, but the character is now become illegible. The upper chapel is built in a very elegant style of Gothic architecture. At the east end, on the outside of the edifice, placed in a deep niche of the wall, stands a wooden statue of the Virgin, of gigantic proportions, twelve feet high, holding the infant Jesus in her arms. Considered as a piece of sculpture, it is not badly executed ; and has suffered very little,

in

in the lapse of so many centuries, from the injuries of time. One of the grand-masters erected this image, soon after the completion of the castle; and the Virgin being constituted the protectress of the order, they gave the name of Marienbourg to the town and fortress itself.

It would seem that when they increased in power, and in number of knights, the second part of the castle was constructed. It is only divided by the trench from the first, but is evidently built on a different plan: magnificence is the characteristic, and it consists entirely of apartments, public and private. We may consider this structure as the palace, and the other as the fortress, of the Teutonic order. The whole of the second division is as yet in great preservation, and unaltered by modern motives of convenience or policy. The council-chamber, or Sala of conference, is a grand room; of a square figure, being twenty paces every way. In the midst rises a column of an octagonal form, composed of one piece of brown granite, spreading in radii

### 378. NORTHERN COUNTRIES

radii like a fan at top, and supporting the roof, which, like every other throughout the building, is vaulted. There is a double row of windows in the room, and round three sides is placed a very high stone bench, where the knights sat, on these solemn occasions. The Refectory, or grand eating room, is still more superb ; being forty paces in length, by twenty in breadth. Three similar pillars of granite support the roof, the capitals of which are curiously adorned with figures in alto-relievo, representing, as I apprehend, some of the histories in holy writ. There are many chambers of smaller dimensions ; but the two above mentioned merit the minutest survey, as they give the most perspicuous idea of the architecture of former ages, where a rude splendor, and a grotesque magnificence, form the predominant character. Round the whole of this second division of the castle extends another moat, but neither so broad or so deep as the first.

The last division covers a longer space of ground than either of the others, having  
been

been doubtless intended for their horses, domestics, and inferior attendants. It is surrounded with a narrow ditch, beyond which is raised a high wall, flanked with towers at small distances, which forms the outermost barrier. The circumference of the whole fortification does not, I imagine, fall short of an English mile. Several gentlemen of the town have assured me, that the subterranean works of the castle are not less surprizing, than the structure which appears above the earth. They say, that beneath the first of the three edifices that I have enumerated, are hollowed out three ranges of vaulted cellars, one under the other, into the lowest of which they have descended some years ago. I should have had curiosity enough to have done the same; but at this time it is not practicable, the arches in some places being fallen in, or become obstructed by earth, and the air being too noxious to permit the attempt. Over the chapel is a very high tower, to the top of which I ascended, though by a staircase absolutely dark, and the steps of which in  
many

many parts are broken and decayed. The prospect from the summit richly repaid my trouble. It extends east to Elbing, and west to Dantzic; while below, lies the rich vale watered by the Vistula and the Nogat, terminated to the north by the Baltic.—I flatter myself that you will not think the account of this residence of the Teutonic knights, either too prolix or too minute, as it is, perhaps, the finest proof which they have left to after ages, of their former greatness, and extensive conquests.

The city of Marienbourg itself, independent of the castle, contains nothing very interesting. It was formerly the head of a league that comprehended twenty-seven small towns, all situate in Polish Prussia, which held Dietines or assemblies, for the regulation of their internal police, municipal privileges, and other rights. This little political confederacy has been long extinct, and the town itself shared the same fate as Elbing, on the same day, the Prussian soldiers having marched in without resistance. There are at this time sixteen hundred of  
them

them quartered here, which equals the number of inhabitants in the place.

I went yesterday afternoon, in company with two very agreeable young women and a gentleman, to see the spot where is formed the junction of the two great rivers of Polish Prussia; the Vistula, and the Nogat. It is one of the most picturesque and beautiful landscapes which nature can present. I need not remind you that the first of these majestic streams, after having traversed all Poland, from its source in the Carpathian mountains, through the cities of Cracow and Warsaw, to those of Thorn and Culm, divides into two great branches: the western, which retains its original name, empties itself into the Baltic, beyond Dantzic: the eastern, is called the Nogat, on which Marienbourg is situated. It is near thirteen miles from hence to the spot where this division takes place: about the midway both rivers are seen, and the road lies through a deep wood of oaks, till within two hundred yards of the point. Here the trees are cleared away,  
and



and emerging from the gloom caused by them, the whole scene bursts at once upon the sight.

Language, however glowing, can do little to paint it's features; the eye, and not the understanding, is captivated. I stood some minutes on the extreme verge, where the rivers unite, in silent contemplation of the prospect. On my left ran the Nogat, whose course, nearly strait, is visible for several miles to the north towards Marienbourg, till it is lost between the high banks which bound the stream on either side. The Vistula is on the right, and forms a striking contrast to the Nogat, it's banks being even with the water, and the river itself only to be seen an inconsiderable way, on account of it's serpentine progress. A little island, placed exactly at the junction, covered with brush-wood, amid which peeps out an antient decayed barn, forms a fine break in the view. Beyond it, to the south, appears the main stream of the Vistula undivided, which rolls along in tranquil majesty, under hanging woods, extending as far

far as the horizon. The sails of several fishing-boats discerned on different parts of the two rivers, leave scarce any thing for imagination herself to add to the scene. We drank coffee in this delightful recess, under cover of the trees, on an eminence, from whence all the objects enumerated were distinctly observed. The peasants, (for there is a hamlet here) brought us bread, butter, and cream. I should not forget to remark, that the Teutonic knights had fixed on this place as an eligible military position, and had even constructed a small fort on the very spot, called Zantir; but it being demolished soon after, they built the castle of Marienbourg, some miles lower down on the Nogat. It was almost night before we returned to the town.—I am now only about five-and-thirty miles distant from Dantzic, and as I leave this place to-day in the afternoon, I shall doubtless arrive there early to-morrow; but my letter being already very long, I dispatch it by post from hence.

## LETTER XVI.

Dantzic,

Wednesday, 31st August, 1774.

I AM not surprized at the Teutonic knights having fixed on Marienbourg as the principal residence of the grand-master of their order. The north of Europe can furnish no tract of country so fertile, or so delicious, as that in which it is placed ; which may be pronounced a garden the whole way from thence to the gates of this city. I crossed the Vistula at Dirschaw, a little town most pleasantly situate on it's banks, and commanding a view of all this extended plain. About an English mile and a half before I got to the city of Dantzic, I came to the last Prussian guard, or military post. I then entered on the territory of the republic, if it can with justice be still so denominated ; but which is at present diminished on every side, invested by the Hussars and grenadiers of an absolute prince. Freedom, it is true, yet reigns within these limits, though contracted ;

contracted; but, how long this precarious independence may continue, is matter of great uncertainty and doubt. If the recent and melancholy fate of Elbing, or of Marienbourg, can form a presage; if the unfeeling rapacity shewn in the division of Poland, the feudal parent, and once the protector of Dantzic; if the general train of policy, I should rather say, of unrestrained avidity, exercised by the court of Berlin in Polish Prussia, enables us to determine; it's final extinction is not far distant. To what happy or valuable purposes, indeed, can the possession of mere personal independence serve, when the political freedom which once animated it, is fled? Their commerce, their revenues, their property, are already either seized on; or are burdened with imposts and duties, which must eventually destroy them. The city of Dantzic itself, which no king of Poland ever dared to enslave; which has for centuries known the benefits of equal government and public liberty; now waits in trembling expectation, the hour of

386    NORTHERN COUNTRIES

it's destruction : while she implores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to save her from a new enemy ; a sovereign whose claims are equally unexpected, as they are unbounded ; and who, though apparently restrained at present from open violence by political motives, watches only the favourable moment, when treachery or intrigue may put him into possession. As a member of the human race, and more peculiarly as enjoying in my own person the blessings of liberty, I feel for an unhappy city, which has once been great, commercial, and powerful ; but whose prosperity, as well as independence, will probably soon be extinguished.

Most, or all the suburbs, which are very populous and extensive, are already occupied by Prussian soldiery ; who on one side are stationed close to the very fortifications, a palisado only separating them from the Dantzic guards. The existence of such a state hangs by a thread ; and the sword which may fall at any instant, is only suspended, like that of Damocles, over their heads. In

consequence of the melancholy aspect of public affairs, theatrical diversions of every nature are prohibited by the magistrates, and the German comedy is exhibited in one of those suburbs which has been taken from the Republic by his Prussian majesty. I have been at some pains to inform myself, whether Dantzic is capable of making any long defence, in case of a siege. Appearances, on a superficial view, might incline one to apprehend that they could hold out, even against a formidable regular force, for a very considerable time. They have two thousand disciplined troops, and proper engineers. Artillery, small arms, and ammunition, are provided in much greater quantity than can be wanted, in their arsenal: the burghers capable of bearing arms, amount to six thousand: their trenches and ramparts are very strong by nature, and rendered more so by art; they can lay the surrounding country under water; and the siege of 1734 by the Russians, is not yet so old as to be forgotten. If to all these circumstances we add the enthusiasm inspired by liberty, which is alone

equal to the most arduous achievements; one is fully persuaded that it cannot be the work of a day, or of a month, to become master of Dantzic.

In contradiction to all this specious display of strength and resources, I am, nevertheless, fully of opinion, that should the place ever be invested and bombarded by his Prussian majesty, it would hold out for a very short time. It is not necessary to examine the uniform, in order to perceive the difference between the troops of *the king*, and those of *the republic*; a dissimilarity which is too evident in every manœuvre. A fact of still greater importance is, that the magistrates have not manifested in their past conduct, that passionate warmth for the preservation of their rights, or that determination to perish, rather than survive their political freedom; without which spirit, all military, or pecuniary means, however ample, are of little avail. It is but too probable, that if the city were attacked, or invested, intestine confusion or disaffection, would aid the assaults from without:

out : nor can the ill success of the Russians in the last attempt to take Dantzic, form any presumption of a similar nature, in case of a future siege ; since it is well known that some secret political springs in the cabinet or councils of the empress Anne, retarded and prevented the vigor of the Russian progress in the year 1734. These, however, are merely my own surmises, on which no reliance can be made ; and I am inclined to hope, as well as to believe, that it is an event, which, though justly dreaded, will never actually take place.

A languor and a decay is, however, visible, at this time, through every department ; and the Vistula, which, they say, at the present season of the year, used to be covered with little vessels and boats, is no longer crowded. In this situation of anxiety and dismay, they have not failed to implore assistance from every power in Europe, which can possibly rescue them ; but on the two courts of Russia, and of England, they found their principal hopes of aid. The maxims, the conduct, and the manifestos of the  
c c 3 first,



first, have indeed, been hitherto so unpropitious or unfavorable to them, that very little effectual assistance was expected from thence. They now flatter themselves that the peace, so happily concluded by Catherine with the Turks, may change the policy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg; and they say, that in the past behaviour of Russia, the first minister Count Panin, and not the empress, spoke. But on the ministry of Great Britain, they repose their principal alliance, and fondly venture to hope, that a nation, the avowed patrons of freedom, who have purchased and cemented their own with blood, and deemed it cheaply won; will interest themselves in the fate of a city, which has no other efficient protector. It is not humanity alone, they say, which should induce Great Britain to interfere: it is not merely the glory of extending their care to the oppressed throughout the earth, and of saying to tyranny and to despotism, "Thus far shalt thou go!" Policy and commerce require their interposition; and they will find too late,

late, if they remain indifferent spectators of our fall, that England has been made the dupe of Prussian artifice and dexterity.

You will naturally imagine, that so enthusiastic a lover of antiquities as I am, has not forgotten to inquire after those of this place. I am indebted principally for my information to two gentlemen, to whom I have been introduced since my arrival; Monsieur le Baron Zorn, and Dr. Wolf; whose names I ought not to mention, without adding the obligations under which their politeness and readiness to communicate knowledge, has laid me. The last of them is animated with a spirit of independence, worthy Hampden, or Sidney. He resided some years since, at Warsaw; but quitted it on account of the troubles and anarchy, which foreign ambition has introduced into that capital. He then retired to Dirschaw, about twenty miles from hence, built himself an observatory for his astronomical studies, and remained there till the king of Prussia seized on the town and surrounding

### 392 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

territory. Unable to bear a yoke so galling, he left Dirschaw, and removed to this city ; and he now declares, that when it is no longer free, he will embark for England, where he has already been, and where every fugitive may find an asylum. Happy country !—which can thus extend it's parental protection to persecuted merit of every kind ; and where freedom, almost unknown from the pole to the equator, holds her equal and beneficent reign !

The origin of Dantzic, like that of almost every other kingdom or city, is wrapped in tradition, and lost in fable. The monks, who flourished under the Teutonic knights, are the oldest writers remaining ; and curiosity must content itself with their accounts, however doubtful, as there are no others to be procured. A colony of Danes is said to have founded the place, about the middle of the twelfth century ; and the name which it now bears, is asserted to be only a corruption of the word Danske, which signifies Dane. Previous to this æra,  
it

it is pretended that the kings of Poland possessed a fort situated on a hill, which forms at present part of the fortifications; called from the Polish Governor of the fortress, Hogalberg, or Hogal's hill, to the present day. The Danes requested of him the cession of as large a portion of ground for their residence, as they could circumscribe by extending their arms: this space inclosed a circle of near two miles, and constituted the first, or old city. Perhaps you may suspect the exactitude of this pretended fact, which, it must be owned, seems borrowed from the story of Carthage, and the ox's hide, to which it bears some resemblance. Few events of importance are known from this time till the year 1312, when a certain Pole, by name Potcammer, being governor, entered into a conspiracy with the Margraves of Brandenburg, to deliver Dantzic into their hands. The deputy-governor, aware of this treachery, gave information of the plot to Ladislaus the third, king of Poland: they jointly called in the

### 394 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

the Teutonic knights ; but these dangerous auxiliaries kept possession of the place, and were too powerful to be expelled.

Under the Teutonic knights, the new city was built, which comprehended nearly the limits of Dantzic, as it now exists. In 1456, when that ambitious and martial order began to decline, the inhabitants threw off their subjection to the knights, in concert with the other cities of Polish Prussia ; and finally became independent, under the protection of Poland. On the flight and abdication of Henry of Valois in 1574, when he ascended the throne of France, the Poles were divided in their choice of a successor ; one party having elected Stephen Battori, Prince of Transylvania, the other faction declaring for the emperor Maximilian the second. Dantzic adhering to the latter competitor, who finally

*Stephen at* . attained the Polish crown, was besieged by *Dantzic* ~~him~~ <sup>him</sup> for a whole year ; and was reduced at the *Maximilian* end of that period, to purchase a peace, by *and therefore* a surrender of every valuable article in the *being to the* place. Even the plate contained in the *after was besieged by his competitor who fi.* churches, *and by so."*

churches, is said to have been carried off by the Poles on this occasion, and the inhabitants were reduced to the extremest indigence. Yet, in the short space of only twenty years subsequent to such a calamity, so great were the advantages derived from their commerce, that they were become sufficiently wealthy to be able to construct new fortifications in the modern manner; a high wall flanked with square towers, in the antient Gothic style, having been till then their sole defence. The siege of 1734 by the Russians, under the celebrated Marshal Munich, is yet remembered by numbers here; when Stanislaus Leszinski, king of Poland, made his escape to Marienwerder, amidst such incredible difficulties, through so many enemies. I was shewn the spot, without one of the bastions, where five thousand Muscovites are interred, who then perished in an attempt to storm the town; but a similar attack on the part of the Prussians, if made at present, would, it is to be feared, have a very different issue.

Dantzic,

Dantzic, though superior in many respects, either to Riga or Konigsberg, is nevertheless, if considered as a city, neither elegant nor handsome. The houses are in general lofty, and in an antique taste. In most of the streets are planted trees, which at this season of the year afford an agreeable shade ; but, which in the winter must be found very inconvenient, and ought to be removed. The building, used at present by the merchants as an exchange, merits attention from its antiquity : it is a square chamber, vaulted ; in the centre of which stands a marble pedestrian statue of Augustus the third, elector of Saxony, late king of Poland. His character, though amiable, did not merit many eulogiums : yet national gratitude could not have conferred higher panegyrics on a Trajan, or a Henry the fourth, than flattery has done on him.

I visited the arsenal some days ago, and must own that I was surprized at the prodigious quantity of military stores contained in it, and the order in which they are preserved. The man shewed me a  
a sort

sort of musquetoon, weighing thirty-six pounds, which Augustus the second, king of Poland, is said to have discharged with one hand. This fact I can well believe, as the proofs which he gave of uncommon bodily strength, are too numerous and well attested, to admit of any question. In a small apartment of the arsenal, is seen a very beautiful honorary tomb, of white marble, erected by order of Sigismund, king of Sweden and Poland, to the memory of his father John the third; the same prince whom you may remember me to have mentioned in a letter from Abo, as having confined his brother Eric in the Isle of Aland, and as having ultimately deposed him. The monument is unquestionably of Italian workmanship, and finely executed. Sigismund is said to have presented this piece of sculpture to the city of Dantzic. The other public buildings are not very remarkable.

I saw in the great church a vast pillar, completely hollowed, which, it is pretended, was antiently used for the purpose of immuring ecclesiastics guilty of heinous crimes.



398 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

crimes. I cannot, indeed, readily conceive any other use to which it could have been applied ; and it is well known that similar punishments were inflicted in many parts of + Europe, on monks or priests who had transgressed the rules of the clerical order. I looked down into the inside, from above ; two iron bars which cross the opening at the top, easily permitting it. The depth is, I imagine, forty feet, and the square dimensions within, about seven feet. There is evidently some white substance lying scattered on the ground, which, they assert, are human bones ; but I had not faith enough to believe it. One might however, easily satisfy one's self, as nothing could be more practicable than to let a man down by a rope, and to draw him up again. It would not be quite so adventurous a descent, as that of the man at Plymouth, in Mr. Blake's vessel ; an affair which furnishes much matter of conversation here. As liberty of religion is publicly allowed in Dantzic, there are churches of all kinds, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic : there are besides convents for religious of both sexes.

It

+ There is one at Brucklin  
in Scotland.

It is computed that the inhabitants, including all the suburbs, are not less than eighty thousand. The environs are uncommonly beautiful.

I drove out last Sunday, to see the abbey of Oliva, so celebrated for the peace concluded there in 1660, which restored tranquillity to the north of Europe; as the treaties of Westphalia had done, twelve years earlier, to Germany, France, and Spain. The foundation of the convent of Oliva is very antient. Subislaus, a duke of Pomerania, who embraced Christianity, erected it in 1170, dedicating it to "the holy and undivided Trinity, the most blessed Virgin, and St. Bernard." These inclusory dedications were common in most countries, and we usually find in the dark ages, that churches were divided between the Deity, and some favorite saint, male or female: that of Oliva belonged to the Cistercian order of monks. The convent and church were destroyed and rebuilt, no less than eight times: the Teutonic knights, the Poles, and the heretic Hussites, all successively ravaged it. The Dantzic soldiery, having razed it to  
the

the ground in 1577, the city was obliged by Stephen Battori, king of Poland, to erect it anew as it now stands. On a black marble monument erected in the cloisters, is commemorated the pacification of Oliva. I transcribed the whole inscription, but I need only remind you that it was made between the Emperor Leopold, and John Casimir, King of Poland, his ally on one side ; and Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, on the other part, who expired before the ratification of the treaty. All the great conquests which had been made by the latter prince, in his successful wars against John Casimir he, was compelled by the articles to restore to the crown of Poland ; and Charles Gustavus is said to have fallen the victim to a distemper, caused by mortified ambition, rage, and disappointment.

The monk who attended us, shewed me the bread which was miraculously converted into stone : the story is written in Latin, German, and Polish, in the church : it happened in 1617. Some of Gustavus Adolphus's Lutheran soldiery sacrilegiously presuming  
to

to lay hands on this consecrated loaf, with intention to devour it, found it instantaneously converted into stone before their eyes:—no doubt, to their great astonishment. I examined it very minutely, and must allow that there is considerable merit in the choice of the subject for this deception. It is about the size of a two-penny roll, which it resembles in shape. One side is indented with a deep hole, apparently natural; but, which was made, as they assert, by the thumb of this Swedish soldier, in the act of laying hold of the loaf before it was converted into stone. They preserve it with great care, in a silver case: indeed, I think it is one of the best miracles I ever saw; and is sufficient to prevent Lutherans in future, however incredulous they may be, from daring to make so free with holy bread.

The abbot's palace, and gardens adjoining, are very elegant; but his revenues, which amounted only two years ago, to ten thousand ducats, or near five thousand pounds sterling per annum; as well as the lands of the convent of Oliva, which he previ-

D D

ously,

ously enjoyed in full sovereignty; are now all seized and sequestered by the king of Prussia, who allows him only twelve hundred ducats, or about five hundred and fifty pounds, as a pension during life, and about one fourth of that sum wherewith to maintain the gardens. The Abbot is by birth a nobleman, amiable and benevolent in his character, past the middle age of life, and universally respected. Humanity feels for his fate, and must condemn, or at least lament, the royal rapacity which has thus reduced him!— But, this treatment is generosity and mercy, compared with other stories incontestibly authentic, which are related here, respecting the Polish nobles, whose estates have been confiscated, and their families reduced, from a revenue of a hundred thousand ducats a year, to absolute indigence, by that monarch, in consequence of the late partition of Poland. One of these instances, which respects a nobleman of the highest rank, is so truly melancholy; displaying such severity on one side, as well as such magnanimity on the other; that it cannot be  
heard

heard without sentiments of pity, and almost of indignation. I could recount it to you, as every person here is acquainted with the story; but, the particulars being already sent to England for publication, it would only anticipate the more minute and accurate relation, which a few months will probably present to the whole world.

This city has been crowded with Polish nobility, who abandoned their dismembered country, on the late partition, in order to take refuge in Dantzic: but the king of Prussia having lately threatened to seize into his own hands all their estates, if they do not return to them, the greater number have, from necessity, complied with his orders. The primate of the kingdom, Count Podotski, Archbishop of Gnesna, is still here, and will probably remain, as his lands not being secular, cannot be sequestered by his new master with so much facility. All the accumulated evils which have laid waste this miserable country, are only natural consequences of its constitution and form of government, in which almost every political fault and error are mingled. It can only ex-

cite surprize, how such a barbarous anarchy has subsisted thus long, while all the surrounding states have been in a continual progressive advancement, military, civil, and political.

I purpose to remain only a day or two longer here ; but as there is not any thing particularly deserving curiosity, that presents itself by the common road through the province of Pomerania to Stettin, I have determined to take another route, though attended with some difficulties. This plan is to remount the banks of the Vistula, in order to visit the cities of Culm and Thorn ; passing from thence through the province of Posnania in Poland, to Posna, the capital, where I may perhaps stay a few days. From Posna I must consult how to proceed ; on my way to Germany, as the posts throughout this whole tract of country, which can hardly be said to belong either to Prussia, or to Poland, are at present in such confusion, and so ill regulated, that it is not possible here to settle with certainty my farther progress. Expect to hear from me again soon.

## LETTER XVII.

Stargard in Pomerania,  
Tuesday, 6th Sept. 1774.

**T**HOUGH not a little fatigued with four days and nights continual travelling, during which I have had no sleep except in the carriage; I sit down to give you the particulars of my journey, and to inform you how it happens that I write from hence, instead of addressing you from Culm or Thorn, as my last letter gave you reason to apprehend. I quitted Dantzic, Friday morning, taking the road to Culm, through Dirschaw, where I only stayed to change horses. About ten miles to the southward of this last mentioned town, I passed close to a prodigious encampment, and alighted from my chaise to examine it. The postillion told me, that it was one of those occupied by Charles the twelfth; a name still formidable through all this part of Europe, as much as that of Marlborough is in Flanders. Probably it was made in 1703,

D D 3

when



when Charles overran and conquered all Polish Prussia with astonishing rapidity. Unfortunately for Sweden, though he knew how to conquer, he either did not know, or would not be instructed, how to preserve his acquisitions. The trenches of the camp are of enormous depth, and its situation is equally advantageous and delightful ; commanding a view of all the plains watered by the Vistula, and the course of the river itself. The sun set, as I entered the little town of Mewa, where I crossed over the river, in a ferry ; arrived at Marienwerder, through the worst roads that I ever remember, about midnight. The centinels at the gates permitted me to pass, after having demanded my name ; and I drove to an inn, the only one in the city, at which I proposed to remain till the next morning.

It was a considerable time before my servant could raise any person at so late an hour ; and when the landlord appeared at the window, he told me that he was concerned to inform me, every bed in his house was already occupied : that if I brought my own  
bed

bed with me, he could give me a room in which to place it ; but if not, he had not any thing better than clean straw to offer me. " I must then," said I, " be content to proceed immediately, and shall be glad to have horses as soon as possible, to the next post, in my way to Thorn." " May I take the liberty," replied he, " to ask if Monsieur intends to return again by this road, or if he goes farther into Poland?" " I purpose," answered I, " to continue my route to Gnesna and to Posna ; but as to my farther progress, it is not yet fixed, as I am unacquainted with the roads and accommodations : perhaps you can instruct me." " If," said he, " you are only induced from pleasure and curiosity to visit these cities, I would advise you to defer your intention till another opportunity. To Gnesna, there is at this time no regulated post ; and though you may, as I believe, procure horses from Thorn, direct to Posna, yet, not only the roads and accommodations are of the most miserable kind ; but at this unhappy juncture,

when the province belongs neither to Poland nor to Prussia ; when the suburbs of Posna itself are seized by his Prussian majesty's soldiery ; and Austrians, Russians, or confederates, ravage the country in turn ; it is not, perhaps, in point of safety, by any means advisable." " But how am I to act ?" said I : " there is not any great road to Stettin, unless I return to Dantzic, which I am determined, if possible, not to do." " You have only," replied he, " to go back ten miles, and repassing the Vistula at Mewa, turn off immediately for Konitz, a town in the province of Pomerellia ; from whence you will very easily procure post-horses to Stargard in Pomerania, the Prussians being completely possessed of the whole intermediate tract of country, and regular relays for the use of travellers being provided by the crown. Whatever inconveniences you may find, they are not to be compared with those which you must inevitably undergo on the way through Posnania." I hesitated for a moment, which alternative to embrace ; well knowing

knowing that difficulties are almost ever exaggerated, and being moreover very unwilling to renounce my original plan of passing through Thorn and Posna, into Germany. But, the season of the year, which was advancing fast, when the autumnal rains might be expected; superadded to the uncertainty of procuring horses even for Gnesna, made me finally comply with the landlord's advice.

I lost not an instant therefore in the execution of it; but tendering him my acknowledgments for his information, I made the best of my way back to Mewa, with the same post-horses, and reached the town by break of day. It is situate on the bank of the Vistula, which at this part is high and rocky; and opposite to it, on the eastern side, are seen the fields, where Charles the twelfth routed and cut to pieces about fifteen hundred Poles, who vainly opposed his passage. From Mewa to the abbey of Pipleen, which is accounted one of the finest Gothic religious edifices in these provinces of Europe, so little visited

sited by strangers, the distance is only twelve miles. The abbey was founded by a duke of Pomerania, whose name I have forgotten, in the year 1250; and as it has never been demolished and rebuilt, like that of Oliva, the architecture itself merits attention. This pious prince endowed it very richly; but his present majesty of Prussia, who feels no such passionate attachment as his ancestors nourished for monks and monasteries, has lately sequestered four-fifths of their revenue; leaving them to sing dirges, and to chant requiems, upon the remainder. One of the brothers, a Pole by birth, who spoke tolerable French, attended me over the building. The altars which are decorated with a barbarous splendor, glitter with gold and silver, the king not having as yet laid his hands on these sacred monuments of the piety or superstition of past ages.

I took the liberty of asking my conductor, from whence could have been collected a vast number of human bones; particularly those of the arms, legs, and thighs; which were preserved

preserved within cases of glass, on either side the high altar? "They are," answered he, "precious remains of the eleven thousand virgins, who perished for their adherence to our holy religion; we possessed many more once, and among them were two complete skulls; but the sacrilegious Swedish soldiery, in the beginning of this century, carried them away." Do you recollect, for I must own that I do not, where this extraordinary story of the virgins is to be found?—

The monk very politely apologized to me, in the abbot's name, for not inviting me to dine in the Refectory, according to their usual custom with strangers of every rank, on account of it's being a most rigorous fast; which permitted them not to touch any thing before sun-set, and then only bread and eggs: so I tendered him my warmest thanks; for as to any pecuniary acknowledgements, he was above accepting those; and bidding him adieu, continued my journey. I eat my cold chicken under the shade of an oak; and as I picked the bones, particularly those of the leg and thigh, I could not help reflect-  
ing

ing on the virgins, and deploring the unnatural barbarity which destroyed eleven thousand at once in such a manner.

It was ten o'clock at night when I arrived at a little village, about thirty miles from the abbey of Pipleen, situate close to a rivulet of water, in a valley, and exactly resembling Bibury in Oxfordshire, as it appeared to me by star-light. The landlord endeavoured to persuade me to stay till morning, as he assured me that I had five-and-twenty miles to Konitz, through continued forests of fir, and deep sands. I would have accepted his advice, as, to say the truth, I was not totally without apprehensions in these woods by night, in an unfrequented part of Polish Prussia: which had recently changed masters: but, the horrid filth, and pestilential smell resulting from the confined air in the cabins; for they cannot be called houses, at every village where I stopped, made it impossible, or at least, dangerous, to lie down in such habitations. I therefore proceeded, as soon as horses could be procured, and about nine on Sunday morning I got

I got to Konitz. As I entered the gate, my carriage was stopped by no less a personage than the host, which was parading through the streets, held up by an Augustine friar, and followed by a multitude of bareheaded Poles, men, women, and children, all devoutly chanting the mass. I alighted from the chaise, and taking off my hat, ordered the servant to get my breakfast ready at the inn, while I mixed among the crowd, and accompanied them to the great church, where the spectacle and procession ended.— This is a pretty country town, and has been formerly fortified with turrets, battlements, and trenches, all which are in ruin. It is at present better guarded by a complete regiment of Prussian engineers, who have been stationed here since it's seizure two years ago; and who would probably puzzle the whole order of Teutonic knights, if they were revived to dispossess His Prussian Majesty of it again.

I left Konitz before noon, and drove about three miles out of the direct road, in order to see the ruins of the castle of Schlo-  
kaw



kaw. This fortress, which is only inferior in grandeur to that of Marienbourg, was built by the same persons ; who while they conquered, civilized and embellished this portion of Europe. It is surrounded on three sides by the waters of a lake, across a small part of which is thrown a wooden bridge, of near three hundred yards in length, entering the grand court. The structure has been of vast extent, but time has laid much of it low. The chapel, the subterranean chambers and one very lofty octagon tower, are yet in fine preservation, and may remain entire for centuries. I went down into the cellars, which are all vaulted, and of prodigious magnitude, running beneath the whole castle. A splendid range of apartments, repaired by the Princes of the family of Radzivil, one of the most antient, as well as opulent Lithuanian houses, to whom this fortress lately belonged, serves to shew what the magnificence of former ages could produce, though these rooms are now following the other parts of the edifice, and are no longer habitable.

After

After having visited every accessible corner in the building, I waited on the catholic priest of the adjoining village, to endeavor to procure from him some account of it's origin and history. He was a very agreeable, ingenious man, and readily gave me all the information in his power. We conversed in Latin, a language of which the Poles make more use in common conversation, than any other nations of Europe. A miserable cripple in the streets at Konitz, requested charity of me in very pure Latin, to my no small surprize; I found the innkeepers frequently possessed of it, and it can hardly be accounted here an extinct language. From this priest I drew several particulars not incurious. "The Teutonic knights," said he, "constructed the castle of Schlokaw in the year 1352, and successive grand-masters were lords of it till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the kings of Poland seized on it, the order beginning about that æra to decline in power and greatness." It was conferred by the Polish sovereigns, on noble families; and I saw an original charter

ter of Sigismund the first, dated in 1507, which grants it as a royal Starosty or Fief, to Andreas Gorsley, on the condition of his coming armed, with as many vassals as are there mentioned, into the field, when summoned by a mandate from the crown. This, you know, was the antient feudal tenure over all Europe. It passed afterwards into other great families, and lastly in 1662, to the Radzivils, whose revenues almost equalled those of sovereign princes, before the troubles of Poland. Their descendants possessed it till within the two last years, when only twelve Prussian Hussars drove out fifty of the prince's Polish soldiery, and erected the black eagle of the house of Brandenburg over the gates of Schlokaw. —I cannot quit this castle without one remark on the prodigious conquests, and extensive dominion of the Teutonic knights, which comprehended the whole country from the frontier of Ingria, and the western provinces of Muscovy, almost to the banks of the Oder. When we reflect on the extraordinary association of a  
number

number of wandering chieftains, originally expelled from Syria, coming to found a new empire on the banks of the Vistula, the Pregel, and the Duna; retaining it for ages undiminished, and rivalling sovereigns in lustre; it affords ample subject of astonishment, as well as of admiration.

I stopped to dine at Fredlant, a small town about ten miles from Schlokaw, and then proceeded on my journey. If you consult the maps of this part of Europe, you will find a large tract of country laid down between Fredlant and Tempelbourg in Pomerania, which is thus marked, "Waldow desertum." My road lay exactly across this desert, which is at least forty English miles in length, and is in general of a most barren and hideous aspect. About one o'clock Monday morning I reached Gastrow, a little town in Great Poland, where I was fortunate enough to procure horses immediately; and got at seven, to a village called Treidnitz, in which I would most willingly have breakfasted. There was not any thing to be had: the poor man, at

E E

whos

whose hut I stopped to refresh the horses, said, that he had seen no coffee for fifteen years past, nor was any such commodity to be procured in the village; but, that at Tempelbourg, to which place I had only twelve miles, I might find it. As there was no alternative; I therefore proceeded for the town he mentioned, and arrived there about ten, not a little tired.

At Tempelbourg, commence his Prussian majesty's rightful and hereditary dominions:—but, what an immense addition has he made to these territories, by the seizure of all Polish Prussia, the bishopric of Ermeland, the free cities of Culm, Elbing, and Marienbourg comprehending the whole course of the Vistula, the province of Cujavia in Poland, with other inferior and unascertained acquisitions? Thorn, Dantzic, and Posna, must inevitably fall into his hands, unless some power interposes; and what limit so able and ambitious a monarch may affix to his pretensions, is very uncertain. I leave it to persons of superior understanding to determine, how far the general system of  
power

power in Europe is affected by these alterations; of which, and their importance, you have very imperfect or erroneous ideas in England. The division of Poland, a kingdom little known, but larger than the nine circles of the German empire, and extending to the frontiers of Muscovy, Hungary, and Turkey; will cover posterity with astonishment, though the present age regards it with indifference and tranquillity. This fact justifies Cardinal de Retz's remark, that the events of our own times, however extraordinary, affect us faintly; and require time to give them their just weight and magnitude, which are lost by too near a view.

I passed through three or four little towns, yesterday, between Tempelbourg and this place, which is a distance of fifty miles. Famine and misery was in them all: it was with entreaty and difficulty that I could procure a bit of smoked goose, and some potatoes, at one of them; and so completely destitute of all provisions were the inns or post-houses, that I was almost afraid of

being starved in this wretched country. Impelled by so forcible a motive, I travelled all last night, and to my no small comfort entered Stargard this morning. I have been more minute in the detail of my journey, from Dantzic hither, because it lay through a part of the Prussian dominions very little known, and still less visited by travellers. To-morrow, I purpose to leave this place, my inducement to remain in it to-day being more for the purpose of refreshment, than from curiosity. The town of Stargard, is pretty large, but the best thing that I have seen, is a good dinner, and a clean apartment; which, after my late adventures in Polish hovels, have a thousand charms. The streets are crowded with soldiery, and nothing is seen but regimentals. The postillions who drove me, the apprentices, the hair-dressers, the very peasants, are all military under this government. As I have only five-and-twenty miles to Stettin, you may expect from thence the conclusion of my letter. I shall perhaps remain there two or three days.

Stettin,

Saturday, 10th September, 1774.

THE road from Stargard, the whole way to this city, lies thro' the most hideous wilderness of firs that I ever traversed. Sweden can produce nothing more desolate, more unpeopled, or unfertile. Never was contrast greater than between the rich plains through which runs the Vistula, and the barren deserts that invest the Oder! The deep sands render travelling very tedious, and though I set out at four in the morning, I did not get here till one in the afternoon. I paid my compliments next day, to his highness the duke of Brunswic-Bevern. He is in command of the Prussian troops stationed here, and has already passed the autumn of life; but, a vigorous constitution, and a robust frame of body, almost indeed Herculean, would deceive at first sight, and conceal his years, if his hair, grey with age, did



not betray the secret. He has worn an uniform and boots so constantly from his early youth, that they seem to constitute at present almost a part of his essence. I had the honor to dine with him yesterday; there was a large company, all men, and all military. Every thing around him is in a martial style, and his very doors are painted with helmets, batons, and swords. The walls of the apartment where we dined, were covered with portraits of the officers of his own regiment; but the last war, denominated in Germany, "la guerre de sept ans," in which the Duke of Bevern served, and in which he was made prisoner at the battle of Breslaw, had lopped off most of them: one fell at Cunersdorf, another in Silesia, a third before Prague. Of at least sixty, scarce ten, he told me, are still remaining alive. He shewed me what he called his arsenal; a chamber filled with models of petards, mortars, pontoons, and other apparatus of war. I almost expected to see the soup served up in a shield: but our repast was not by any means  
a Spartan

a Spartan one, and shewed that his serene highness did not think the pleasures of the table, incompatible with tactics and encampments.

If I have profited during my short stay, in Stettin, by the honor of this prince's acquaintance I have derived still more pleasure from that of the young Prince of Anhalt Dessau. His habit is military, for he is likewise in the Prussian service; but nature formed him equally for the arts of peace, as for the science of war; and gave him a refined taste in sculpture, in painting, and in music. The furniture and decorations of his house, forcibly mark this turn of mind. His rooms are ornamented with antique busts; and in his drawing-room, the Venus Celestis fronts the Egyptian Venus, Cleopatra. He has travelled in England, in France, in Italy, and made a campaign some years ago, against the Turks, on the banks of the Danube. If to these accomplishments, are added manners the most polished and elegant, one may readily conceive him to be a very amiable prince.

We supped last night, *tête à tête*; he gave me a partridge and a bottle of Hungary wine; it was one of Horace's "*Noctes, cænæque Deum*," without ceremony, without that ostentation and parade, which commonly reign in upper life, and are so destructive to genuine enjoyment. I should have continued my journey from hence this morning, had not his obliging solicitations detained me another day; and I come this moment from bidding him adieu, with equal gratitude and regret.

There is still another pleasure, if it can be called so, for which I am indebted to this city; I mean, the sight of the fair captive, the princess royal of Prussia. In this, the eye only can be gratified; it being most strictly forbidden by the highest authority, to approach, or to speak to her. I need not relate, nor remind you of her history: it is sufficiently known over all Europe. Tho' she is at this time scarcely eight-and-twenty years of age, she has now been a prisoner these five years. Her person is agreeable, not beautiful.

She

She is of a middle height, finely proportioned in her limbs, and very active in all the exercises of the body: her complexion is fair, and her features are all handsome, with the exception of her nose, which is too large, and pointed, like the family of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle, from which she is sprung. There is, however, somewhat *triste* in her countenance, if attentively regarded, not difficult to be accounted for, when we reflect on her situation and misfortunes. The manner in which she lives, is mournful enough, and may well wipe out or obliterate the errors that she has committed. In the bloom of her age, exiled from the court and the capital, she is immured in a frightful old castle, on the banks of the Oder, built in some barbarous century, by a barbarous duke of Pomerania, where she occupies three or four half furnished apartments, which, if fame says true, ill befit her rank and dignity. Her appointments, as I am assured, amount only to seven thousand six hundred dollars of Prussia which do not make twelve hundred pounds sterling

sterling a year: with this limited allowance, she is obliged to provide herself in dress, table, attendants, every thing. Two valets, and two filles de chambre, constitute her household.

The Princess has never been allowed to go without the gates of Stettin since her arrival here, till within a month past, when this degree of liberty was accorded her by his majesty's special permission. One or two ladies always accompany her, and every female has free access to her presence; but there are only two men in the place who presume to accost her. These are the duke of Bevern, and the governor of Stettin, General Potcammer, an officer yet more advanced in years. The prince of Dessau, though well acquainted with her previous to this disgrace, and though he sees, or meets her every day, assures me, that he has never held the slightest discourse with her, even for an instant. This is a trial of obedience, to which men would probably be found unequal, in a country less accustomed

tomed to implicit submission, civil, as well as military. The story of Araspes, has ever appeared to me a more touching and natural one, than that of Scipio and his Celtiberian virgin; which, however, strictly true, was perhaps, if rigidly appreciated, the result of physical causes, as much as of an effort of magnanimity and self-restraint.

I had yesterday the pleasure to see her royal highness on horseback: she was habited *en Amazone*, and shewed great ease, as well as address, in managing the horse she rode. She sat astride according to the custom in Germany, and made a very gallant figure. This whole afternoon I have been looking at her, from the windows of the room on the ground floor, where we dined at the prince of Dessau's, opposite to which she walked, within a few paces of us, for several hours. Her dress was by no means attractive or distinguished. A jonquil silk night-gown, and her hair very simply adorned,

adorned, gave no room to guess her quality; but, her foot, the smallest and the most elegant in the world, was a natural beauty, which needed no artificial ornaments to excite admiration. You will smile at this minute description, and my recurring thus to the princess, every moment; but I am touched with her melancholy situation, and feel for a young woman, destined to wear the crown of Prussia; whose future days must probably be spent in seclusion and penance for a crime, which, if we consider the manners and the examples of the Court of Potzdam, seems hardly to have merited so severe a punishment.

I have been so engaged in speaking and thinking of this unfortunate princess, that I have not yet mentioned a word of Stettin. Indeed, to say the truth, I know very little relative to the place. There are a great many houses, and a great many streets, two very large churches, a river, a quay, and, as they tell me, a very extensive commerce. The inhabitants are about sixteen  
thousand

thousand. In no respect, however, can Stettin, as a city, enter into a comparison, or competition, with Dantzic.

I was on the parade, this morning, when the duke of Bevern reviewed the second battalion of the garrison. They are, indeed, matchless soldiers, and perform their various manœuvres with surprising celerity and address: it is with reason that we speak of the Prussian exercise, as superior to any in Europe. I shall set out to-morrow for Strelitz.



## LETTER XVIII.

Verden,

Thursday, 22d Sept. 1774.

I QUITTED the duchy of Pomerania, about fifteen miles from Stettin, and entering Brandenburg, arrived before night at Prenslow. This is a large town, situate on a lake, and, like almost every other in his Prussian Majesty's dominions, full of soldiery. I had only six miles (German ones, I mean) from thence to Strelitz: but, so bad were the roads, that I did not get there till almost noon next day, though I travelled the whole night. The inaccuracy of their measurement is indeed such, every where in these countries, that it is impossible to ascertain, with any precision or certainty, what a mile is. They have two divisions; the *clein*, or small mile; and the *stark*, or long mile. The former of these contains generally between four and five English; but as to the latter,

latter, I never pretended to determine how long it was ; since I have found it now five, now six, and not unfrequently seven. The territory of Mecklenburg Strelitz begins only five or six English miles from the town of that name, which is so surrounded by woods of fir and oak, as not to be seen till one approaches very near it. I staid there three days, induced by the gracious reception I met with from the reigning duke. He was at a little palace of retirement, which he has built about four miles from Strelitz, and has called "Adolph's Pleasure." It is constructed on the bank of a small lake ; but the country, except an inconsiderable tract immediately round the house, is covered with groves of prodigious thickness. During winter he resides at New Strelitz, where he has a much larger palace, and where he holds his court, as a sovereign prince. I had not the honour to see the princess of Mecklenburg, sister to the queen of Great Britain ; a very severe fit of illness having confined her high-

ness

ness to her apartment for fifteen days before my arrival.

The town of Old Strelitz is small ; and as the dukes of Mecklenburg have not had any palace there for many years past, it contains nothing, at this time, to attract, or detain a stranger. I left it this day sevennight, and took the road to Zell, across Brandenburg. On my way I stopped at Mirow, a little town near the frontier of the duchy, in order to view the palace, where, his highness had informed me, her majesty the queen of England, and all the ducal family were born. It is a handsome structure, but unfurnished at this time, and very rarely visited by the reigning duke. Continuing my journey through the Prussian territories, I arrived near the bank of the Elbe, on the ensuing day in the afternoon. Though here at a vast distance from the sea, it is already become a noble river, dividing the marquisate of Brandenburg from the duchy of Lunenburg : in other words, the Hanoverian, from the Prussian territories

territories. I crossed it in a ferry, and landing on the opposite side, in the dominions of my native sovereign, got to Danneberg, a little town, the same night. The moon shone very bright, and as I had yet between fifty and sixty miles to Zell, I was determined not to lose a moment. The landlord, who spoke French, expatiated with great eloquence on the badness of the road, and the length of the miles to Ultzen, the next place on my way. There is not, said he, a village between Danneberg and it; and superadded to this circumstance, You must not expect to be there before six o'clock to-morrow morning, on account of the sands, which are the deepest and heaviest that you ever passed. I therefore ordered horses at five next day, in the certainty, as I apprehended, of reaching Zell the same night; but I was nevertheless disappointed, and again obliged to stop at a wretched, lonely house. Here, however, the host, in order to console me, said that the present king of Sweden, from

F F

a similar

#### 434 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

a similar necessity, I presume, had taken up his lodging, some few years ago, when on his return thro' Germany, from Paris to Stockholm.

I got to Zell last Sunday morning, and did not quit it till yesterday. After being presented to her majesty the queen of Denmark, I had the honor to dine with her on Monday. The hereditary princess of Brunswick, her sister, has been there above a fortnight on a visit, the distance from Brunswick to Zell being very inconsiderable. It was impossible not to feel a lively curiosity to see this young sovereign, whose history and misfortunes have already so much interested all Europe ; who has been driven in the bloom of life, from a throne and kingdom, which were not worthy of her ; and whom, I doubt not, future time will see recalled again to Denmark with universal consent. You remember the fate of Mary of Medicis, in the last century ; her power, her exile, and her return : they constitute the subject of Rubens's gallery in the  
palace

palace of the Luxembourg, at Paris. The reunion of Christian the seventh with his queen, may form as noble a story for the pencil of genius, as that of Louis the thirteenth with his mother : but where, in this century, shall we find a Rubens to execute it?

The castle of Zell, where her majesty resides, is detached from the city, and surrounded in the antient style of defence, with a very broad moat full of water. It is large, of a square form, and was built by one of the dukes of Zell, before the duchy was lost in the House of Hanover. The country on every side is barren, sandy, and unpleasant. It is forty miles from thence to this place, through as dreary a tract as can be imagined. At little more than half way, on the southern side of the river Aller, stands the little palace of Ahlden, celebrated for the imprisonment of the electress Sophia, wife of George the first. Here she died, a short time before the accession of her son, the late king, to the crown of

F F 2

England.

England. It is said, that he once made an attempt to see her, while under confinement, and having separated himself from his attendants in hunting, came unexpectedly to the house : but, the nobleman to whom the care of her person was confided, refused him admittance, and prevented the meeting of the prince and his mother.

I always apprehended Verden to have been a much larger and more important city than I find it on examination. The cathedral is an object of curiosity, chiefly on account of the remote antiquity to which it's foundation ascends. It is said to have been first erected in the year 786, by Charlemagne, after his conquest over the Saxons. My attention was attracted by the portraits of the bishops of Verden, which, from that æra down to 1566, when the Lutheran religion supplanted the Catholic, in this portion of Germany, are painted on the walls of the choir. The first of them, who was, as appears by the inscription over his head, a saint, a count, and an abbot, notwithstanding

withstanding all his titles, secular and ecclesiastical, was massacred soon after his investiture, by the pagan Saxons, who paid no sort of deference either to his coronet, or his crosier. The present cathedral, is by no means, however, as old as the time of Charlemagne : it was built about the middle of the fourteenth century, the former one having been reduced to ashes in 1313. An antiquary might find ample food for investigation in it, the whole internal surface of the ground being paved with tombs, on which are still to be traced effigies and inscriptions ; the first, mutilated by the tread of frequent feet, and the latter now become almost illegible. Before the high altar stands a marble monument of costly workmanship, erected to a Prince Philip Sigismund, born in 1568, who was in his own person duke of Lunenburg, and bishop of Verden. At present there are no longer any bishops, the see being secularized.

I need not remind you, that the city of Verden, which constituted part of the Swe-



dish dominions, at the beginning of the present century ; was purchased by George the first, previous to his ascending the English throne, from Frederic the fourth, king of Denmark. That last mentioned prince had rendered himself master of Verden, during Charles the twelfth's residence at Demotica in Turkey, to whom, as king of Sweden, it belonged. Such a transaction, which excites, it must be confessed, some degree of disapprobation, and can scarcely be reconciled to the magnanimity of two sovereigns ; laid the foundation of that implacable antipathy, which Charles the twelfth nourished against George the first. In order to revenge the injury and loss of territory which he had sustained by the sale and purchase of Verden ; Charles had determined in 1718, to attempt to place the first Chevalier de St. George on the throne of Great Britain. It is difficult to judge what might have been the result of such an enterprise, undertaken by such a man, so soon after the accession of the House of Hanover.

Happily

Happily for the repose of Europe, and of his own subjects, the ball which entered Charles's temple, before Fredericshall ; by whatever hand it was discharged ; terminated his life and his designs at the same moment. Verden still remains subject to the elector of Hanover. The town contains only about five hundred inhabitants, exclusive of a battalion of Hanoverian soldiery. It extends along the bank of the river Aller, but has not any trade ; and the buildings, which are mean, sufficiently evince it's poverty. I have only twenty miles from hence to the city of Bremen, where I hope to arrive this evening. Expect the conclusion of my letter from thence.

Bremen,  
Sunday, 25th Sept, 1774.

THIS is a great city, a rich, and a commercial one; but I cannot say that I think it a very agreeable place, or that it contains many objects to attract a traveller's attention. If human life were of double the limits which nature has assigned to it, one should not, methinks, be tempted to visit it more than once. It must, however, be confessed, that I saw it to some disadvantage, not being provided with letters of introduction to any persons of consideration here; as I had not intended to have included it in the plan of my tour. By the help, however, of the landlord of the inn where I am lodged, to whose good offices necessity has made me a debtor, I believe that I have seen every thing deserving notice in Bremen, and shall leave it this afternoon, perfectly satisfied with my stay. One of

these objects has appeared to me so extraordinary, and is in itself, I apprehend, so very singular, that if I had not been an eye-witness of it, no testimony would have convinced me of it's reality: and if the fact was not of such a nature as to be universally ascertained by ocular examination, I should fear that you would doubt my veracity. I have always apprehended that the human body after death, under every circumstance, if interred, or exposed to the air without any preparation to defend it from the attacks of the atmosphere, would of necessity corrupt, become offensive, and putrify.—The art of embalming is very antient, and was invented in order to preserve the body from this inevitable consequence of death; but, that it may remain unputrified for centuries, without any sort of artificial aid, I have seen so incontestibly proved since my arrival, that I imagine not the shadow of doubt can remain upon the subject.

Under the cathedral church extends a vaulted apartment, supported on pillars; it  
is

is near sixty paces long, and half as many broad. The light and air are constantly admitted into it by three windows, though it is several feet beneath the level of the ground. Here are deposited five large oak coffers, as they may be termed, rather than coffins, each containing a corpse. I examined them severally for near two hours. The most curious and perfect is that of a woman. Tradition says, that she was an English countess, who dying here at Bremen, ordered her body to be placed in this vault, uninterred; in the apprehension that her relations would cause it to be brought over to her native country. They say that it has lain here two hundred and fifty years. Though the muscular skin is totally dried in every part, yet so little are the features of the face sunk or changed, that nothing is more certain than the fact of her being young, and even pretty. It is a small, delicate countenance, round in its contour: the cartilage of the nose, and the nostrils have undergone no alteration: her teeth are all firm in the sockets, but the lips  
are

are shrunk away from over them. The cheeks are likewise fallen in, but yet less collapsed, than I ever remember to have seen in embalmed bodies. The hair of her head is at this time more than eighteen inches long, very thick, and so firmly connected with the skull, that I heaved the corpse out of the coffer by it: the colour is a light brown, and as fresh and glossy, as that of a living person. That this lady was of high rank, seems evident from the extreme fineness of the linen which covers her body; but I have in vain endeavoured to procure any lights into her history, her title, or any other particulars, though I have taken no little pains for that purpose. The landlord of the inn, who accompanied me to the cathedral, said that he remembered the corpse for forty years past, during which time there is not the least perceptible alteration in it.

In another coffer lies the body of a workman, who is said to have tumbled off the roof of the church, and to have been killed by the fall. His features evince this  
fact

fact most forcibly. Extreme agony is marked in them : his mouth is wide open, and his eyelids are the same ; the eyes are dried up. His breast is unnaturally distended, and his whole frame betrays a violent death. A little male child who died of the small-pox, is still more remarkable. The marks of the pustules, which have broken the skin on his hands and head, are very discernible ; and one should suppose that a body which perished by such a distemper, must contain, in a high degree, the seeds of putrefaction. The two other corpses are not less extraordinary. There are in this vault likewise turkies, hawks, weasels, and other animals, which have been hung up here ; some, time immemorial ; some, very lately ; and which are in the most complete preservation ; the skin, bills, feathers, all unaltered. The cause of this Phenomenon is doubtless the dryness of the place where they are laid. It is, I imagine, in vain to seek for any other solution. The magistrates of Bremen do not permit any fresh bodies to be brought here for interment, and there is

no other subterranean chamber which appears to possess the same property. It would have made an excellent miracle, two or three centuries ago, in proper hands; but now mankind are grown too wise.

This city, as you know, is celebrated for its old Hock. The wine is all brought from the banks of the Rhine, by land carriage, and deposited in the public cellars, which are very capacious, running beneath the Town-house and the Exchange. They are not, however, comparable in magnificence to those which I have seen at Oeyras in Portugal, belonging to the Marquis de Pom-bal; or to those of Constantia, at the Cape of Good Hope. There is one particular room here, called the Rose, where they keep wine, as they say, of a hundred and seventy years old, and for which they ask seven dollars, or twenty-five shillings a bottle; but it is not fit at this time to drink.

Bremen is situate on the northern bank of the Weser; but vessels of burden lie twelve or fifteen miles below the city, there not  
being



being sufficient depth of water higher up the stream. It contains forty-five thousand inhabitants, and, it is said, would even exceed Hamburg in commerce, if the river were not an impediment. The Wesel, or Weser, cannot, indeed, enter into any competition in magnitude, or depth, with the Elbe: but Bremen, on the other hand, is not so far removed from the German Ocean, as Hamburg. Bremen is a free city, under the protection of the empire; an important member of the Hanseatic league; and styles itself a republic, on the money struck here. The king of England, as elector of Hanover, possesses and exercises, nevertheless, some important political rights within the place; and not only the cathedral belongs to him, but a considerable number of buildings, public and private. He possesses, likewise, a species of supreme judicatorial power; as, though the magistrates take cognizance of all crimes committed within the territory of Bremen, the Elector's delegate or bailiff must pronounce sentence. The fortifications, though kept  
in

in very good order, are of no real military strength: the strongest army in the field is ever master of Bremen; and during the last war, French or English were alternately received into the place, as they appeared before it. The style of building here is frightful: I thought myself at Elbing again, all the upper stories being at this time, or having been granaries, and of course totally uninhabitable. The architecture has a most grotesque appearance to the eye, though many of the houses are now in some degree modernized. The streets are all narrow: the quay is the only pleasant or cheerful part of the city, as it is broad, and commands a fine view of the water.

By the municipal laws, all the race of Abraham is excluded from the capacity of trading and residing here: or at least, there is so high a pecuniary duty laid on their persons, that a man may remain here a century, I suppose, and not see a Jew; the tax amounting to no less than a ducat, or near ten shillings a day. This exclusion has given rise to a sarcastic remark on the character  
of

of the inhabitants of Bremen themselves, which, whether it be just or not, I cannot judge. Hamburgh has adopted a contrary policy, and admits indiscriminately these people, with the individuals of European nations. In a lucrative or interested point of view, I know not which may be the wisest measure; but certainly the latter is the most generous, and breathes a greater philanthropy. If every government barred its gates to these wanderers of Palestine, already labouring under the curse of dispersion, without leaders, without political strength; where must they fly for asylum? Their character, to be sure, as a nation, is not much in their favor; and I am not at all surprised at their antient passion for idolatry, since there are very few of them, I imagine, at this time, who would not bow down before a golden calf set up in London or Amsterdam, with as much devotion as their ancestors did before that in Horeb. The principle, indeed, might be somewhat different; though it has always seemed to me, as if the intrinsic value of the

the first calf, constituted the most adorable part of his divinity, in the opinion of his worshippers : else, why did not Aaron make him of brass, or of some substance less precious than gold?

Plutus and Mercury may without a metaphor, be called the chief deities venerated in this city ; and, like the Roman senate in Tiberius's time, they will not admit the gods of strangers. Pleasure under every shape, of dance, of comedy, of masque, seems peculiarly odious. She has, indeed, lately stolen in, as my landlord tells me, once a month during the winter, in the form of a concert, to the no little terror of the Burgomasters, who have endeavored to proscribe and suppress this unprecedented refinement. The most polite manner of passing an evening, known for several centuries past in Bremen, has been that of meeting in small boxes, about twenty feet long, and six wide, in the public cellar, where they drink Hock under a cloud of smoke raised from their own pipes. One may swear that these are

450 NORTHERN COUNTRIES

the genuine descendants of the antient Saxons, who imagined the joys of heaven itself to consist in drinking ale out of the skulls of their enemies ! Woman, the only venial object of idolatry, seems not here to hold any rank in society, or to form the connecting charm which binds the jarring principles of human nature together. Man, solitary man, meets in clubs and companies, to doze, to drink, and to dispute. The very idea is odious and disgusting.

I hope to reach Hamburgh on Tuesday morning, and shall probably write you once more from thence, before I embark, as I purpose, on the Elbe for England.

## LETTER XIX.

Hamburgh,

30th September, 1774.

It is a desolate and dreary journey from Bremen to this place, across the sandy and unpeopled heaths of Lunenburg. I got to the southern bank of the Elbe on Monday afternoon, and from thence enjoyed a beautiful prospect of Hamburgh, at the distance of two leagues. It makes a noble figure, and as the space which separates it from the Danish town of Altona is very inconsiderable, the two places appear to form only one magnificent city, which covers the side of the river, for three or four miles in length. I lay at Harburg, which belongs to his Britannic majesty, and crossed over the Elbe on the ensuing morning. The short stay that I shall make here, prevents me from attempting to give you a description of Hamburgh.

I have now completed my proposed tour  
round

**452 NORTHERN COUNTRIES, &c.**

round the Baltic, after a journey of near three thousand miles. The wind is fair, and I am promised, or rather flattered with a favorable passage to Hull; though, as it is above a hundred English miles, to the mouth of the Elbe, my voyage across the German ocean may be tedious. I am sensible that the letters which I have addressed to you in the course of my journey; from their haste and inaccuracy, stand in need of much indulgence. But, as they may claim the merit of truth; and as they give some, however imperfect a description, of countries little known or visited, in comparison with the southern kingdoms of Europe; I trust that these Letters may be found not wholly undeserving attention. Meanwhile I remain,

Yours.

---

THE END.

---









